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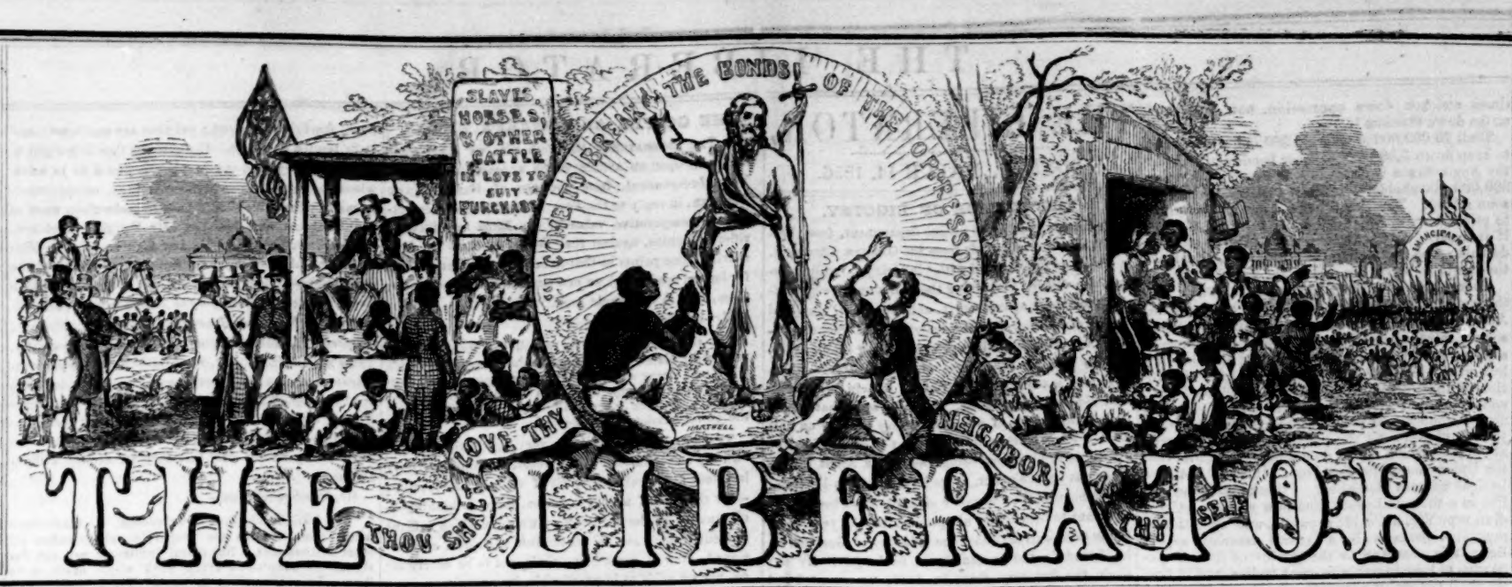
☞ In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.


SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOVE TO BUY & PURCHASE
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSOR
THOU SHALT LOVE THY
NEIGHBOR
AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Glasgow Chronicle of Jan. 30.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN AMERICA.

A few weeks ago, we made a remark or two on the subject which the agitation against slavery in the United States has come to assume, and took occasion to express our regret that divisions should exist among those who had started from the same simple ground of hostility, in principle and act, to the injustice and sin of slavery. Referring to the section led by Mr. Lloyd Garrison, we glanced at the lamentable admixture with their anti-slavery opinions which they had come to make of impracticable principles in politics, and infidel principles in religion. Further consideration of the matter induces us to suspect that the case has more serious bearings than we were at first willing to believe, and that it will be requisite for the friends of freedom in this country, who are at the same time friends of Christianity, to look well to the persons in America to whom they give their sympathy and aid, lest, while they are showing their abhorrence of slavery, they should at the same time be facilitating the overthrow of that divine and true religion, without which all struggles against injustice and immorality can be but feebly maintained.

Knowing what many professors, and, with shame and grief be it said, many ministers, of religion in the United States, have to answer for in connection with the slavery question, and how ready they will naturally be to retaliate upon those who have exposed their disgraceful inconsistency and unfaithfulness, we were long reluctant to believe the allegations which, years ago, began to be current about the infidelity of Garrison and his friends. The charge of infidelity has all along been denied by them, and we felt that other evidence than that of men who themselves were far from being 'without sin' was requisite, before the charge could be justly looked on as established. Latterly, however, evidence has been adduced of a kind to which, certainly, exception cannot be taken—the evidence of their own acts and declarations. In a recent number of the *Freeman*, we observe that the Rev. John Williams of this city has directed attention to a series of resolutions adopted in 1853 at an *Anti-Bible* Convention which was held at Hartford, Connecticut, and the leading spirits of which were Joseph Barker, Andrew Jackson Davis, William Lloyd Garrison, and Parker Pillsbury. The last named of these gentlemen is, we believe, at present in this country, and is one of the most active members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, led by Mr. Garrison. An attempt has been made in the same journal to wipe off from him individually (and by implication from his coadjutors) the reproach of infidelity, but the resolutions quoted by Mr. Williams, and which were moved by Mr. Garrison, will, we should think, speak to most readers for themselves. They are as follows:—

'Resolved, That the doctrine of the American church and priesthood,—that the Bible is the Word of God, that whatever it contains was given by Divine inspiration, and that it is the only rule of faith and practice,—is self-evidently absurd, exceedingly injurious both to the intellect and soul, highly pernicious in its application, and a stumbling-block in the way of human redemption.

Resolved, That this doctrine has too long been held as a potent weapon in the hands of time-serving priests, to beat down the rising spirit of religious liberty, and to discourage scientific development; to subserve the interests of blind guides and false teachers; and to fill all Christendom with contention and strife; and, therefore, the time has come to declare its untruthfulness, and to unmask those who are guilty of this imposture.

Resolved, That it is a secondary question as to when, where, or by whom, the books of the Old and New Testaments were written; but the primary and all-important question is, What do they teach and command? And in order to ascertain this, they are to be as freely examined, and as readily accepted or rejected as any other books, according as they are found worthless or valuable.

Resolved, That it is the climax of audacity and impiety for this nation to pretend to receive the Bible as the inspired Word of God, and then to make it a penal offence to give it to any of the millions who are held as chattel-slaves on its soil; thus conspiring to make them miserable here and hereafter.

Resolved, That, judging them by their course of action towards all the reforms of the age, and their position in society, the clergy of this country, as a body, would as readily burn the Bible to-morrow, if public sentiment overwhelmingly demanded it, and persecution and loss of character should be the result of disobedience,—as to-day they are found earnest in their endorsement of the plenary inspiration of that book, in accordance with public sentiment.'

The fourth of these resolutions contains an irrefragable truth. The fifth and last shows a spirit of bitter hostility to the ministers of religion as such—to the clergy as a body, without exception or qualification: and it is difficult to account for a feeling so indiscriminate, without assuming that it extends as indiscriminately to the entire doctrines which the clergy inculcate. As to the first three resolutions, if they do not contain an avowal of infidelity, as that is commonly understood, we do not comprehend them at all; and whoever affirms that the proposers and adopters of such resolutions are not infidels, must be using language in some peculiar sense, and with an intention to deceive.

Now, we are advocates of liberty in its strongest meaning—liberty of opinion as well as liberty of person. Messrs. Garrison and Pillsbury have a perfect right (as regards their fellow-men) to repudiate revealed religion, if they please. But they have no right to sail under false colors, and lure into association with them those who would shun and shrink from them, if their true spirit and aims were fully known. For our own part, we would not account a man's infidelity a sufficient reason for refusing, under all circumstances, co-operation with him for a good object. But we would certainly require that the object should be well defined, and that the organization for its promotion should not be perverted to objects apart from it, and alien to it. Now, this is what there seems to us too much reason for fearing the Garrison party are doing; and as the slavery question in the United States seems at present to be approaching a new crisis, it will be important that those only of the American opponents of slavery whose views are sound, safe, and practical, should receive the countenance and aid of the friends of freedom in this country.

We only throw out these hints in the mean time, and shall probably have occasion to direct the attention of our readers more particularly to the subject hereafter.

We are glad to find that Frederick Douglass, who has established himself as a newspaper editor at Rochester, is vigorously pursuing the sound course which he has chalked out for himself, and, while rebuking the faithlessness of those professors of Christianity who palliate or defend the practice of slavery on the one hand, is, on the other, bearing his testimony against those whose views are apparently tending to the overthrow of all authority, either human or divine.

DR. FULLER'S LETTER ON SLAVERY.

I reply at once to your query proposed to me in the last *True Union*; not only because the kind sentiments of your note call for some acknowledgment, but because you say that some persons will be 'influenced by the authority of my opinion,' and I am most anxious that no influence of mine shall ever seem to favor the perpetuation of slavery.

Nothing is more rare than a spirit which, in earnest discussion, seeks only truth, and cares nothing about victory. In the correspondence with Dr. Wayland, to which you refer, I hope my desires were pure; yet, with such a deep interest involved, any man ought to be jealous of himself. After all, however, I still think that the position then assumed by me is fully maintained by Scripture and reason.

But let no one regard me as an advocate for slavery. I deeply regret its existence; and though it would reduce me to comparative poverty, I would be relieved of a burden upon my conscience, if the slaves in my possession could enjoy the blessings of freedom. Considered simply as an abstract question, the matter admits of no discussion. If any right be incontestable, it is that of an individual to his own flesh and bones and sinews.

But the subject of African slavery in this county is not an abstraction. The evil is so rooted in the social system—it is so interwoven with the entire civil and domestic economy, that its removal presents a most difficult problem—a problem defying my thoughts, and those of the wisest men in the land with whom I have conversed.

The guilt of enslaving these Africans rests not upon us. The only responsibility is our present duty, as to which it becomes us to implore earnestly the Divine guidance, and follow it.

For myself, I am too conscious of interest and the prejudices of education, to confide implicitly in my own judgment. I confess, too, that my opinion has, at different times, oscillated.

I never visit the South, and see the comfort and happiness and piety of the slaves, and recall the sufferings and extremities and vices which I have witnessed in our large cities, without doubting if any sudden change can benefit the negro. And I, then, am reconciled to leaving the system to those Gospel influences, which are, gradually but constantly, altering, mitigating, and elevating the relation between master and slave.

On returning home, however, and reflecting on the matter in my study, I have lost confidence in my convictions, and resolved to emancipate the slaves I own in my own right. But no sooner had I thus determined than I found myself utterly baffled. For what is to be done? Shall these people be retromitted to Africa? They would not go. If carried, is it certain that a removal would be a blessing to them? In short, I cannot expend the large sums necessary for this purpose—I cannot afford this, nor is there any sort of obligation on me to do it.

The same answers apply with reference to transporting them to some free State. The only course then left is to set them free where they are. But to this there are obstacles even more insuperable. The law—*laws passed to protect the slaves*—forbid this abandonment of them. The peace and safety of the white population would be endangered, if many of these people, in their present condition, were turned loose, to become vagabonds, having no homes, tampering with the slaves, setting them examples of idleness, and living by plunder. He who should thus set his slaves free would incur a fearful responsibility. I will only add, that such a step, if permitted by law, might be, I fear would be, fatal to the negroes themselves. Forsaken by their guardian, driven from the plantation they once occupied, objects of suspicion to all other masters, persecuted by evil men, cut off from redress by injuries to their rights, without land or house or home—they would either supplicate permission to return to their former state, or they would become desperate, and perish in the woods or on the gallows.

Machiavelli says, that 'To make a servile people free is as difficult as to make a free people slaves.' This is true, even when a nation moves in behalf of the emancipation of a distinct race long enslaved. How slowly can such a people be prepared for liberty! How few even of the nations called free are capable of freedom! I dare not pronounce slavery, in some type of it, the '*vulnus immedicabile*' of fallen humanity; but it is a chronic disease, demanding chronic remedies, and great care and patience.

I have thus answered your query. Slavemaking is sinful. To hold slaves from motives purely mercenary, and to treat them as chattels, is sinful. But slaveholding is not a sin. He who affirms this despises the plainest Scriptures, and betrays a mind utterly blinded by prejudice and fanaticism; for a continuation of the relation may be the best for the slave, and no alternative may remain for the master.

But for the violence and recklessness of fanaticism, I might hope to see measures adopted at the South which would benefit masters, and secure for the African a condition preferable to freedom. I have elsewhere advocated colonization; it is visionary, however, to suppose that our millions of slaves will ever be transported across the ocean. This black race is fixed among us. Amalgamation or equality with the Saxon race is out of the question. What, then, is the true course which legislation dictates! I think the legislatures of the Southern States ought to imitate the noble magnanimity of the Roman emperors, and become the guardians of the slaves. The South is at least as much under Christian influence as the North; and the Gospel suggests a code which would recognize the relation of master and slave, but so regulate the rights and duties of each party, that all the abuses of the system would be removed, and both parties really benefitted.

Such a code of laws, I think, it would not be impossible to frame. But it is unnecessary to dwell on this point now. Nothing can be done for the slaves, the benevolent wishes of their true friends must be defeated, and their efforts paralyzed, while fanaticism is resolved to irritate and ulcerate the Southern mind, and create a morbid sensitiveness which forbids any movement about this momentous and delicate subject. While Northern politicians persist in their hollow, selfish, intriguing declamations about the abominations of slavery; and while Northern religious journals—not only raving Billingsgate Chronicles, but papers as respectable as the *Independent*—will persist in abuse and rancor, will manifest, not so much regard for the slave as settled hatred for the master; while this systematic 'malice and evil speaking,' these tirades of calumny and falsehood, are incessantly goading and insulting the South—nothing can be done, nothing even proposed. The true friends of the slave—those who know him, and have power to interpose in his behalf, are at the South; but they are stripped of all influence by these wicked and incendiary proceedings. They can only fold their hands, and look to Him 'who causeth the wrath of man to praise him,' and who can employ the madness of men to accomplish the purposes of his wisdom.

RICHARD FULLER.

HEAR THE WORDS OF A VENERABLE PATRIARCH.

We publish below (says the Georgia *Federal Union*) an able and patriotic letter from ex-Governor Wilson Lumpkin. It will be seen that he endorses President Pierce in full. We have always had implicit confidence in the patriotism and prudence of the President; but we confess we feel our hands greatly strengthened when we find we are sustained by such men as Wilson Lumpkin and George M. Troup.

'In the present alarming crisis of the country, what should be done to beat back the aggressions of anti-slavery fanaticism, and, if possible, to prevent a dissolution of the Union? Allow me to answer this important question. The friends of the Constitution every where, and especially the friends of the constitutional rights of the Southern States, should unite, as with the voice of one man, forgetting all party issues, and let our enemies see and know how vain and delusive are their hopes of keeping us warring upon each other upon exploded and insignificant issues. Let us regard the man who would continue such divisions among ourselves at this time as our open enemy—as an emissary of the unholy alliance of the New England, Old England, and French abolitionists. At a time like this, no true patriot will be found laboring to keep alive the foul demon of party strife at the South. Nor will he be found taking sides with the negro thieves of the North, in denouncing and weakening the hands of President Pierce for throwing himself nobly and patriotically into the scale of the constitutional rights of the States. His only alleged offence is his masterly vindication of the constitutional rights and equality of the slaveholding States. The platform on which President Pierce has taken his stand in all of his important State papers, and more especially in his annual message to Congress, and in his special message on Kansas affairs, contains my sentiments, politically, morally, and constitutionally. I endorse them with my whole heart. And how can any Southern man do otherwise! How can a Southern statesman any longer give the *cold shoulder* to President Pierce's administration! We owe it to ourselves, as well as to our noble, generous, patriotic friends in the non-slaveholding States, to be united among ourselves in their support; and to repudiate, as traitors to Southern rights, all who wish to divide us upon the subject of the slave question.

Standing on the platform which I do, I will not stop to inquire whether a man who is sound on the slave question is a Whig or a Democrat, native-born or a naturalized citizen. All I ask is loyalty to the Constitution and the rights of the South. I am unalterably opposed to a dissolution of the Federal Union, until it is proved, beyond all doubt, that the constitutional rights of the States cannot be maintained *in the Union*. And if our Union is to be saved, the South must not allow themselves to be divided, but combine all their efforts in one compact host, and present an unbroken front in defence of their constitutional rights, and unflinching opposition to Northern aggression.

The fanatics of the North have already driven us to the brink of the precipice. Nothing but the aid of Northern patriotism and intelligence can save the rights of the South, and perpetuate the Union. And now, let every Southern man, of every party and every name, march up and take his stand on the platform erected by President Pierce, and with such a leader and standard-bearer, the country will be rescued from the hand of the spoiler. WILSON LUMPKIN,

Athens, Feb. 12, 1856. Of Georgia.

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES IN VIRGINIA.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

The House, on the 4th instant, resumed the consideration of the bill to amend chapter 199 of the code.

The pending question was on filling the blank in the following clause within brackets:—

'All emancipation of slaves made or directed to be made by last will and testament, shall be null and void, [unless adequate provision be made by such last will and testament for the removal from the State of the slave so emancipated within twelve months after the death of the testator.] No provision shall be considered adequate which is less than $—— for each slave emancipated; and no emancipation shall be made to take effect in future.'

Motions were pending to fill the blank respectively with '250,' '100,' and '50,' which were withdrawn.

Mr. Garnett remarked, that the House yesterday had declared against all future emancipation by last will and testament, but that subsequently a clause was introduced and adopted; the effect of which was virtually to reverse that decision. With a view to enable the gentleman from Franklin, [Mr. Edwards,] who expressed a wish to do so, to make a motion to reconsider the vote by which that clause was adopted, he would withdraw his proposition to fill the blank with '250.' The other motions to fill the blank, viz., with '100' and '50,' were also withdrawn.

Mr. Edwards then made his motion to reconsider, which was agreed to.

The question before the House then was upon reinserting this clause within brackets, as above.

Mr. Johnston maintained that *there ought to be no right to emancipate by will*, except for meritorious services. He said that this right of emancipation was the right of annihilation, which the law did not recognize. He said a man should enjoy at his death the largest right to dispose of his property among the community as he thought proper. He maintained that the right of emancipation, which was the right of annihilation, should be very different, and that the right should be withheld, except under the circumstances indicated.

Mr. Claiborne took opposite ground from the gentleman from Harrison (Mr. Johnston.) He maintained that an individual had a right to annihilate his property, provided such annihilation was not attended with any disadvantage to his neighbors.

Mr. Hoge said, that immediately before the adjournment of the House, yesterday, he made a remark that there had been an issue presented in the discussion of this subject, upon which he desired to be heard. He referred to what he considered to be a fair inference from the argument of the gentleman from Essex, (Mr. Garnett,) that there was a party in the House who favored the gradual emancipation of the slaves of the Commonwealth. He was certain with reference to his own position, and could almost undertake to speak for the House upon that subject. He was satisfied, from the explanation of the gentleman, that it was not his intention to cast any aspersion upon members of the House, many of whom represented the largest slaveholding communities of the Commonwealth. He deemed it proper, as the representative of a slaveholding community, to correct any report which might have gone abroad calculated to create an impression that there was in the House *a party favoring any measure which looked to gradual emancipation*. He was anxious, for the sake of the State of Virginia, and he would say the South at large, to remove that impression. The explanation of the gentleman from Essex, (Mr. Garnett,) was calculated, he had no doubt, to remove all such impressions. With reference to the argument of the gentleman from Harrison, (Mr. Johnston,) he took the ground that an individual had not the right to annihilate his property. That was so, when such annihilation was attended with injury to your neighbor. The Legislature may take the position that no man shall emancipate his slave, not because he has not a right to do what he pleases with his own property, but because it may be injurious to the public interests.

Mr. Garnett said, that the reason why he did not propose to provide for emancipation by deed, was, that you could not prohibit any man from taking his slave out of the Commonwealth, and setting him free. He held that the position which all States in which slavery existed now occupy, was that *the right of property in slaves involved necessarily the existence of every attribute of property*. He meant by that, that if he had a good right to hold this species of property, no man could deny the exercise of every right which the legal possession of that property devolved upon him. If there was a difficulty with reference to the emancipation of slaves by deed, it was because no law could overcome it. This is a question which should be approached delicately, for it involves the enunciation of a principle in regard to this property, inferences from which might be drawn which would not suit our views or interests, and which might be employed as an argument by Northerners *against the propriety of perpetuating this institution*. If he did not desire the embodiment of a provision in the bill prohibiting emancipation by deed, it was because of the legal difficulty in the way, and not that he did not deem it the best course in order to consolidate and perpetuate an institution, the necessity for which public opinion was every day conceding more and more.

Mr. Langfitt said, that while he regarded the condition of the slave as being far better than that of the free negro, yet he was opposed to the amendment of the gentleman from Essex (Mr. Garnett,) as also to the whole section. He said if such a principle was laid down—that of prohibiting a man from disposing by will of his slaves as he thought proper, whether to emancipate them or otherwise—it would, in all probability, be made hereafter to apply to other species of property. It was a dangerous principle, for it interfered to some extent with *the right of property*, and he should therefore vote against it. He maintained that if a person had a right to dispose of his property in slaves by deed, he had a right to do it by will. To do away with the right in the latter instance would be to control and affect the right in the former instance.

Mr. Claybrook said that in regard to the institution of slavery, he occupied what might be called an extreme position. He regarded it not in the light of a moral evil, but *a blessing—a blessing to the slave, and a blessing to the white man*. He believed, however, that he should vote for the amendment that had been offered by the gentleman from Norfolk, (Mr. Mallory.) His position originally was that indicated by the gentleman from Richmond, who offered the amendment yesterday. (This is the amendment within brackets, and the one pending.) He held to that as the true position which they should occupy. Suppose that amendment was stricken out, what would be the consequence? They were utterly forbidden from emancipating their slaves by last will or testament. He had several objections to it—first, that it amounted to almost an entire restriction upon emancipations. Emancipations by deeds were extremely rare, and for the reason that a man's own interest in the property he holds in his possession, and from which he is receiving his profits, rendered it naturally against his inclination to emancipate, by deed, that property. And hence, he said, that *emancipations by deed were extremely rare*. He contended that it was, under those circumstances, proper to leave with the master the right to emancipate by will, if only to furnish an argument against Northern abolitionists, who seem to think that no such attachment does exist between master and slave as to induce the former to set him free at his demise.

Mr. Burwell, of Bedford, was in favor of granting the right of emancipation by last will or testament. He said that *the transfer of our free negroes into the Northern States, which would follow this right of emancipation, would do much to prove to the abolitionists that slavery was rather a blessing than an evil* as they contended; they would learn more fully what the character of that race was, after they had a sufficient number of them to wield an influence in their social and political system. Moreover, they would beget an injurious competition in labor, which would have the effect of arousing those with whom they came into competition to a sense of the blessings of slavery.

Mr. Garnett replied to the several remarks in opposition to his amendment, in a speech of great ability.

Mr. Stanard was opposed to any interference with the right of any man to *dispose of his property as he pleased*, except so far as might be inconsistent with public policy.

The question on reinstating Mr. Murdaugh's motion was then put, and the question being taken by yeas and nays, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 60, nays 36.

Mr. Garnett then moved to fill the blank in the clause with '250.'

Mr. Newton moved to fill it with '100.'

The question on Mr. Garnett's amendment was decided in the negative—ayes 35, noes 61.

Mr. Newton's amendment was then agreed to.

Mr. Floyd moved to strike out the clause repealing the seventeenth section of chapter 107, which is as follows:—'The court of any county or corporation, upon satisfactory proof by a white person of the fact, may grant to any free person of mixed blood, resident therein, a certificate that he is not a negro, which certificate shall protect such person against the penalties and disabilities to which free negroes are subject, as such.'

SELECTIONS.

A LETTER FROM CASSIUS M. CLAY.

At the recent National Republican Convention held at Pittsburg, (Pa.) Gov. Bingham of Michigan read the following letter from CASSIUS M. CLAY to Louis Clephane and others, members of the Washington Republican Association:—

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 25th December, ult., was duly received, but, under the pressure of business, I have not been able sooner to give you an answer. Allow me to say that I approve of your central organization, of the 'National Republican Association,' the expediency of its establishment, and the patriotism of its purposes.

I regret that the causes that have so long delayed my answer will not allow me to accept your flattering invitation to address your Society during the present session of Congress.

Presuming, however, upon the language of your letter, that my 'position as a Southern man,' and 'the circumstances of the present time,' would enable me to do 'the cause more good than any other man in the nation,' I venture to make some remarks, which my devotion and long self-sacrifice to the cause of liberal principles will entitle to more consideration than any ability I shall be able to bring to the task.

I inclose you my speech delivered some years ago, at Lexington, Kentucky. In that you will find all I have to say of African Slavery and emancipation as a 'Southern man.' I think I have there shown that Slavery is consistent only with a state of semi-barbarism. And before the friends of Liberty in the South can be driven from the field of successful logic, our opponents must denounce civilization itself. I have there proven that all material development is retarded by Slavery. Not only, by *a priori* reasoning, as much as Slavery debases labor and makes it ignorant, that therefore it saps the foundation of its efficiency, but that the experiment of free and slave labor in these States, in agriculture, in manufacture, in mining, and in commerce, confirms the conclusion.

The census, though necessarily imperfect, no doubt, has driven the intelligent men of the South to acknowledge that the North excels the South not only in these last departments, but that the South is second even in agriculture; where, before the stubborn battery of figures was brought to bear, she once successfully entrenched herself for defence.

'Cotton' is no longer 'king,' but gives way to eight articles of staple production—Indian corn, wheat, hay, and fodder, pasturage, cattle, horses and mules, slaughtered animals, and swine. The value of horned cattle is put down at $420,000,000, while cotton is only $126,000,000.

The great cities—the exponents of productive and consumptive powers of States—the canals, the railroads, the ships, of the North, had, to the philosophical mind, determined the result, long before statistics came in to silence debate. Boston itself is said to contain one eighth part of the capital of the nation! With a poor soil and a harsh climate, she has subjected the forces of nature, instead of her fellow-man, to her will. 'Free Schools' have allowed her workmen to avail themselves of the mechanical powers, of chemistry, of electricity, of the winds, of the waters, and of steam. In Maine, in Vermont, in New Hampshire, in Connecticut, in Massachusetts, wherever manufacturing towns spring up, you will find Massachusetts capital. Her railroads extend into every land, and her ships sail on every sea. All the South, with her superior climate, quality and extent of soil, variety of productions, and facility for railroads and canals, presents, in approximation even, no such city as Boston.

'Cursed be Canaan!' and he is—master and slave! Who shall deliver them from this death?

In intellectual and moral improvement, there is more room for controversy. Yet the conclusion is not far off, when the defenders of Slavery denounce the newspaper press and common schools as 'damnable heresies' of progress, and in conflict with all true 'conservatism.' The many 'isms' in social, political, moral and religious science of the North, which are so much railed at by the slave-propaganda, are the evidences of intellectual life—the scales which are wastefully thrown off from the stimulated mind and passions, while man is being transformed into better metal and nobler structure. The 'conservatism' of the South is the quietude and homogeneousness of the unwrought ore, which lies forever unchanged in the dark mines of ignorance and despotism!

When all these arguments are pressed home upon the South, the advocates of the 'peculiar institution' venture to take refuge in the alleged superior courage and gallantry of Southern men. It is not my part, myself a Southron, to draw invidious distinctions, in this respect, between the North and the South. There are noble elements of character in both people. But the annals of these States give no warrant to the South to claim precedence in these, over the freemen of the North. We cannot forget *where* were fought the first and bloodiest battles; and those ever-memorable sea fights where, if anywhere, it can be said of America, '*Eripuit sceptrum tyrannis!*' Neither is the 'Logic of History' in favor of the prowess of slaveholding States. The warlike tribes who overthrew the slaveholding and more civilized nations of Europe, during the decline of the Roman Empire, were not the slaves of arrogant tyrants, but stern freemen, following, voluntarily, the standard of elected leaders. So later history bears us out; and nations are now powerful in proportion as they are *free*. Sentiments of Liberty only impart heroism to the soul; and equality and dignity of labor only give that energy and capability of physical structure, which are alike necessary to success in peace and war. So long as nations have been free in their municipal organization, they have rarely fallen under foreign conquest. Only when the masses of the people have become servile, has it been that they care no longer to choose between masters, and that their subjection has been sure.

These, gentlemen, are the views which, as a citizen of a slave State, I have so often and earnestly urged upon the South. As an Anti-Slavery question, it can only be legitimately settled by the slave States themselves. There the founders of the Republic placed it, and there the wise men of the whole nation have ever been willing to leave it for a solution.

But the necessary sequence of its toleration has elevated this from a 'sectional' to a 'national' issue. It is no longer a question of 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery,' but of Liberty and Republicanism on one side, and 'Divine Right' and Despotism on the other. The Slavery propaganda have reopened the problem solved by the evolution of the centuries, and ignore 'a law of nature' which our fathers of 1776 simply 'reënacted' in terms in the immortal Declaration. The viper, warmed into life by our mistaken sympathies, recovers its ancient venom, and threatens to drive from the home of the United States Constitution the rightful owners of the hearthstone! Slavery, which was left only to die with decency, 'has become the vital and animating spirit of the National Government.' The Oligarchy of the three hundred thousand slaveholders no longer conceal their purposes or deny their assumptions. Not only the blacks, but the whites of the South have lost their liberties. Nominally free, they have long since ceased to be a 'third estate' in the slave States. They have no social equality—no political force—no moral influence. Steeped in ignorance and poverty, the privileged class neither respect their opinions nor fear their power. The ostensible representatives of the people, in obedience to their masters, have not only reduced the laboring masses to servitude, but add insult to injury, by openly avowing that Slavery is the rightful state of the laborer everywhere, white and black! All the guaranties of English Liberty which we inherited before the Revolution are stricken down. The reign of terror has done its dread work; from the press, the pulpit and the stump, there comes no word of remonstrance. The horrors of mob law have crushed out the spirit of the once gallant yeomanry of the South. Despair has seized upon the brave hearts; weeping, bleeding, dying, we sink down into our voiceless woe!

Marching from the field of home conquest, the *three hundred thousand* take possession of the National Government—plant their flag upon the capital of the Union—and by sea and shore denounce and bring to the block the treasonable advocates of Republicanism! The slaveholders have from the beginning been in secret rebellion against the Government of our fathers; but now, seconded by atrocious servility in Church and State, they avow their supremacy and defy resistance. They control our foreign and domestic policy, make war and peace, enact and trample under foot laws and treaties and constitutions, as suits their despotic wills. Their avowals are no less insulting than their acts are insufferable and despotic. In the temple of Liberty, Liberty herself is derided. In the Senate of the United States, the dicta of its founders are denounced as a lie. The celebration of the Fourth of July, in all the States, is looked upon as little else than a treasonable emeute. The laws of Congress and the constitutional privileges of the citizens of the several States are alike denied validity when conflicting with the opinions or interests of the Oligarchy. Courts of justice, which are denied in one State for the liberation of a citizen, are perverted in another to the destruction of the liberties of all. The great writ of *habeas corpus*, which we vainly imagined the sheet anchor of our freedom from arbitrary power, has been turned by our highest justices into a most facile and terrible instrument of irresistible despotism. The right of petition and remonstrance against these judicial tyrannies, once forbidden by the record, is now no less effectually struck down by proscription. The defenders of the rights of man are deemed unfit for place outside of Congress—as 'belonging to an unhealthy organization,' they are excluded from honorable position in it.

The friends of Liberty, driven from the capital, take refuge in the States; but even there their tameness of spirit and ignoble obscurity cannot shield them from renewed insult and determined extinction. Laws, monstrous and unconstitutional, pursue them to their homes, stain with blood the sacred hearthstone, and compel them to complicity in the greatest of wrongs which is capable of being inflicted upon human nature. If the codes of antiquity were justly denounced as bloody, which, for one crime inflicted one penalty, by the hard deprivation of one right, what shall be said of this statute, which, without crime, exhausts all penalty, and leaves the bleeding, mutilated, dying victim, not only without a single right, but without claim for a tear of sympathy? No wife, no husband; no parent, no child; no sister, nor brother, nor lover; no houses nor lands; no property, no privileges; no will, no pursuit of happiness; no house; no country; no Bible; no God! In life no security, in death no redress! And this not the deed of a State reluctantly performing in her sovereign right a constitutional obligation, but, in hurried obedience to despotic will, neither the rights of the people are respected, nor the decencies of outraged justice observed. Chains, unhappy emblems, are thrown around the courts, and hired mercenaries obstruct the rightful ingress and egress from the temples of justice and the legal pursuits of ordinary life. Alas! that the monuments of other days should look down upon the deeds of tyranny more infamous than those which, in times past, caused the glory of their erection!

The antecedents of our history are reversed. Slavery ceases to be 'sectional,' and becomes 'national.' Wherever the flag of the Union is displayed, there Slavery is legally planted. The barriers of three generations' solemn decrees are broken down; and in the name of 'popular sovereignty' are the liberties of the people destroyed. The peaceable occupants of the Territories are set upon by armed force from the slave States, the ballot-box destroyed, and themselves conquered and subjected to laws of foreign legislation, never before, for long centuries, attempted to be enforced even in monarchical England; and which carried into effect, will make the whites of Kansas equal slaves with the blacks of Missouri. The blood of peaceable, unoffending citizens cries aloud in vain for vengeance. The Executive of the United States, whose duty it is too see the laws faithfully executed, meanly shirks his oath of office, secretly encourages the foray against Freedom; and with the instincts of a servile spirit, hurls his denunciations only against those who, by blood and Slavery, are suffering the penalty of his folly in policy, and criminal weakness in action.

Gentlemen, all these things accomplished, and more threatened in the future, compel me to repeat—'It is no longer a question shall the blacks be slaves, but whether the whites shall be free!' What was 'fanaticism' yesterday is fact to-day! Republicanism, then, is to be saved or lost. We are no new party; we avow no new principles; we want no new name; we make no new issues; we desire no revolutions.

Lovers of law, we stand by the National and State Constitutions in the wise compass of progress and reform with which our fathers framed them. Conservatives, we believe that justice is the highest expediency; that right is the eternal basis of safety. Progressives, we abhor bloodshed and war. Trusting to the force of reason and liberal sentiment, we patiently await the beneficent influence of the centuries. Democrats, we vindicate the rule of the people against the usurpations of the few. Whigs, we contend for privilege against power. Republicans, we are not propagandists—daring to live out, at home and abroad, the fact of our profession, we avow ourselves the friends of the people, and the sworn enemies of tyrants the world over. Men, we acknowledge no distinction of clime, of color, or of caste, but declare the universal brotherhood of the human race.

Lovers of the 'Union,' we make no false clamor about dissolution. Distinguishing the shadow from the substance, we will defend it so long as it is worthy of defence; and, to make our loyalty immortal, we will trench it round with the defences

of justice, liberty and law, and, by securing others' rights, make them the battle-guards of our own. Born free, we call no man master. Trespassing upon the rights of none, we will defend our own. Standing upon the defensive everywhere, in peace and war, let us meet our enemies as becomes the prestige of our descent and the glory of our cause.

Gentlemen, these are my ideas of what is to be done, and how it ought to be done. If the 'Republicans' inscribe them upon their banner, they will have many an abler, but not more devoted, follower than your obedient servant,

C. M. CLAY.

Messrs. E. M. JOSLIN and L. CLEPHANE, Committee, &c., Washington, D. C.

From the New York Evening Post of March 7.

THE DUTY OF THE NORTH.

REV. THEODORE PARKER'S LECTURE AT THE TABERNACLE.

The Tabernacle was prodigiously crowded last evening by an audience anxious to hear what new thing the great Boanerges of anti-slavery had to say upon his favorite theme. Mr. Parker was introduced to the audience by Oliver Johnson, Esq., the secretary of the society, with highly appropriate remarks. Mr. Parker responded as follows.

[We regret that, for lack of space, we are unable to publish all the report given of Mr. Parker's lecture in the *Evening Post*. Here are some extracts.]

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your friend, Mr. Johnson, has introduced me to you as one who labors under the name of an infidel, while others get the praise of orthodoxy by taking the South side view of all iniquity. If I, through taking a Northern view of wickedness, and rebuking the wrongs of the oppressed, earn a different name, I trust I shall bear it with becoming meekness. Sufficient is it for me if the blessing of those who are ready to perish rests on my head.

The battle between slavery and freedom—what shall the North do? That is the theme, ladies and gentlemen, to which I ask your attention to night.

It is very plain that either freedom must go down or else bondage must perish, and this generation is to decide which of the two shall prosper. Now, slavery exists by the act of the American people. It is a federal institution; it has been the favorite of the American government for seventy years.

Slavery exists, not by the act of Carolina and Mississippi and the other slave States, but by the act or the acquiescence of the whole people of the United States. It is not the slave States who extend slavery; it is the United States. It is not Missouri who puts bondage into Kansas; it is the people of the United States, acting through their government; not the border ruffians, but the central power, legislative, judicial and executive. Read your President's message, and the defence of border ruffians made by Northern Senators, and you see this is plainly so. Missouri—why those border ruffians, they were only the cat's-paw which the other sitting in Congress made use of. (Laughter and cheers.)

Speaking philosophically, there are three great Protestant denominations in this country. There is the sect of Trinitarians, who worship God as Three; that of Unitarians, who worship God as One, and that of Nothingarians, who worship God as Nothing and Nobody. It is a very large sect, and popular and famous, this sect which worships the Divine Nullity, counting God as Nothing and Nobody and Nowhere. Now, in the pulpits that are bottomed on the dollar, Slavery is Pope. I know it is common to suppose that the creeds of our churches are derived from the Bible—that this is a symbolical book. No mistake could be greater. They are found in the heart of the slaveholder; he is the hope of these churches, and slavery is translated out of the original tongues, and appointed to be read in churches. (Laughter and applause.)

I did not know it until 1850 and 1851, and then one great-minded man—I mean a man of great power of understanding—stood up in the Senate of the United States, and said: 'There is no higher law.' Then Trinitarians and Unitarians and Nothingarians lifted up their hands, and said: 'It's all right; there is no higher law. Down with Jesus Christ, and up with the Fugitive Slave Bill. I'd send back my own mother to keep the compromises of the Constitution.' * * *

Suppose these three great measures of the slave power shall succeed—suppose slavery is restored to the States and Territories now free—suppose that we go filibustering, and restore the African slave-trade; what then will happen? If slavery progresses for the next eighty years as it has done for the last eighty, we shall have thirty-two millions of slaves; and this number, in eighty years more, at the same rate of increase, would be two hundred and fifty millions. What a picture! Two hundred and fifty millions of slaves to spread themselves over this continent—the Atlantic and the Pacific bounding a continent cursed with such a stupendous despotism! Perhaps such a despotism is not possible, and I do not believe it is.

But if these contemplated measures succeed, then the fate of the American republic is like the fate of the republics of old. Down, then, with your free church, your free press, your free school, your free speech! down with everything that makes us free and great and prosperous! Connecticut will then become like California, Massachusetts like Georgia, and New York like Arkansas! and I say we shall deserve it. It is not a dream that I am stating to you. Ten years like the last, and we are undone. There are men who think this will be our fate. Their logic is, that man is a selfish animal, and, this being his nature, he should have an opportunity to exercise this nature.

There is a man, very high in the cabinet, who thinks so. He told a friend of his, in a private conversation, who is also a friend of mine, that he thought so; and that our fathers made a mistake in not establishing a limited monarchy. I need not mention his name; but suffice it to say, he was not born in this state. There are others who think so from history. They look around, and see that free republics have never made old bones, while despotism sits upon his throne secure for a thousand years, and slumbers upon his bloody pillow, dreaming only of conquest and power. Hungry labor is naked and poor, while its creates the capital that kings use to crush it. Industry toils in poverty, while Idleness reaps the reward. And as other republics who have grown rich and oppressive, have gone down and perished, so they think it will be with us.

Are these measures to prosper? Is slavery always to ride upon the saddle, with freedom struggling to keep upon the crupper till it is thrown off? One thing is certain, slavery will either become universal, or it will be burned up, and its ashes cast into the sea. For such is the logic of slavery, that while there is a single slave State or a single slave, held by the government, there cannot be peace. Slavery will either exterminate or be exterminated. The question is, which shall it be? A single Sharp's rifle in Kansas may set the country on fire; and when a house is on fire, how much of it will burn!

Just now the question was, Shall Freedom or Slavery sit in the Speaker's chair? Next fall it is to be, Which shall sit in the Presidential chair? I think that Freedom is to triumph—that it is to put down Slavery. The blood of Hengist and Horsa, of Luther, of Cromwell, of the English Puritans and Quakers, and of American freemen of the Revolution, is opposed to Slavery. Three great battles have been fought. First, between the Anglo-Saxon people in the sixteenth century and the Pope. The Saxon conquered.

In the seventeenth century the question was: Shall there be a limited monarchy, and in which the powers of the throne shall be limited by the representatives of the parliament? How did that turn out? Oliver Cromwell hewed off a neck of one king, and stout William the Dutchman banished another. Kings were taught that they had joints in their necks. Anglo-Saxon blood prevailed. Next came the question of the right of a people to self-government, which was settled here. Three times has Anglo-Saxon blood fought for human rights, and conquered.

What if these questions had been answered differently? A different world would we have now. If our forefathers had submitted to the exactions of the British government, we should have been like the British provinces. If the people had submitted to the Stuarts, Great Britain would have been under the yoke. If the encroachments of Rome had not been resisted, the inquisition would now have existed in England. Now, in the nineteenth century, comes the fourth great question for Anglo-Saxon blood to decide; and shall it, that has three times stricken down oppression, now turn and strike down freedom!

Shall 20,000,000 of men aid 300,000 wicked men to keep down 3,500,000 of poor bondsmen! I say the Anglo-Saxon is not going to 'cave in' before 300,000 slaveholders. But the question must be soon solved. The North has a duty to perform—to put slavery down, 'peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must.' There are two ways to go to work to do this: one is, to dissolve the Union, and leave the South to settle the matter for herself.

There are many things that look that way; and there are some who think this the true system. Among them is my friend Johnson, who so handsomely introduced me as an infidel. But he meant such an infidel as loves the good God and his fellow-man. Mr. Garrison is in favor of the dissolution of the Union. He is a great and good man, and I love him. (Applause, with some hisses.) I do not wonder that some hisses are mingled with your applause: for the people do not yet appreciate Mr. Garrison. ..... I do not agree with him that the Union should be dissolved. It could not now be done without bloodshed. I think that those who live in a thousand years from now may see a Canadian republic, a Pacific republic, and an Atlantic republic—perhaps also a Central American republic. It is contrary to the genius of the Anglo-Saxons to keep together in great bodies, and in time we shall peaceably separate.

I am not a non-resistant, and would shed blood sometimes. But I think that, in nine cases out of ten, the Quaker is right. In the tenth case I think he is wrong, and would shed blood. I think the Union could not now be dissolved peaceably, and it is not yet necessary to abolish it forcibly. I think, too, that if we were to dissolve the Union, it would be difficult to tell where to draw the line. We should have to draw it north of New York, north of Concord, and east of Boston. (Laughter.) I fear we should have to draw it through your delegation in Washington. And besides, it would not be right for us to dissolve the Union, and leave four millions of our brethren in bondage.

We would not do it if they were white, and we ought not to do it because they are black. For these reasons I would not dissolve the Union; and yet the dissolution of the Union is a small matter, compared with the wrongs which have been enacted within the last ten years. Rather than one more fugitive slave should be sent back, I would let the Union be broken into fragments no large than the space upon which this building stands and then I would place myself upon a little piece of free soil, which was not contaminated with my brother's blood.

But it seems to me that the dissolution of the Union is unnecessary. Let us see what we can d without disturbing it. The free States can choos for its officers men who are men—men made b Nature, and not by Nature's journeymen. The let New York pass a Personal Liberty Bill, declar ing that no slave can owe labor or service, and tha any person claimed as a slave shall be deemed freeman; and pass a law to imprison kidnappers All this you can do at Albany, any day, withou violating the Constitution, for you are a sovereig State.

I believe freedom will triumph, for it is the 19t century we live in, not the 9th. If it were the 9th I would not stand here; I would go home, an study to set in operation causes that a thousan years hence would have influence and flame out It is the 19th century, and give up thinking failure. Look what race we are of; it is the Ar glo-Saxon particularly, and if it is not that, it i the Teutonic; it is the blood of Cromwell, of Lu ther, of Latimer, of English Puritans, of Englis Quakers.

A race that has always loved freedom, and in th last three centuries has fought three great contests In the 16th, in came this question: Shall th Church be independent at home, or ruled by a fo eign power, an infallible Pope? In the 17th Shall there be an irresponsible despotism rulin the church, state and people, or shall there be limited monarchy, with a House of Representative appointed by the people, to make and sustain thei laws? It lasted from 1664 to 1689. Cromwell an swered it boldly.

In the eighteenth century came this question Shall the New England colonies rule themselves o be ruled? That was a great question, and it too eight years of bloody war to answer it. It cos rivers of blood and immense treasure, but was an swered triumphantly. In two hundred and fift years, we have entered into three great revolution —fought three great strifes, and in every one o them freedom has been victorious.

Now, suppose these question had been differently answered! What another world this would be What if America had knelt down, and said to th oppressor, 'Lay on your burdens; they are ver heavy, but we will bear them.' New Englan would have been like Nova Scotia. The city New York would have been like Toronto. Buffal Boston and Philadelphia would have been sma colonial towns. It would have served us right What if there had been no Cromwell, and the peo ple of England had crouched under their oppres ors? What would Old England be to-day? Sh would have been like Germany. Edinburgh Un versity would have been inquiring, 'How it wa that the Virgin Mary, of all mankind, had no ori inal sin in her? How it was that the Pope's pe petual infallibility was consistent with his occa sional errors and particular sins?'

Then, in a national point of view, repeal all fugi tive slave bills. Then abolish slavery in the Di trict of Columbia and all the territories. Abolis the entire slave-trade, and make it piracy. The make slaveholding incapacitate a man from holdin any office. Then re-construct the United State Judiciary—they need not remove the judge fro office, but remove the office from the man. Then in their places, I would take honest men, who lov God and love men, and then the Constitution woul no longer be a pro-slavery document.

There are things in that document that are ba things, which I would tread under my foot. Bu there are other things which are noble, and the preponderate. Then, at last, I would decree a day fixed and certain, when each State should abolis slavery, and if they did not do it, the governmen should take possession of them, and form a Repub lican government. In the next six months we ca place a Republican man in the Presidential chair and if that is accomplished, freedom will triumph

But if slavery is to triumph, let us go back t Lexington, and amend the first battle-fields of th Revolution, and break to pieces the little monu ments built there, and grind them to powder; g to Bunker Hill, and blast and tumble over tha great monument erected there. Let it not be wit British gunpowder—it would not take fire in s unholy a cause; nor with French gunpowder—that is fitly employed in blasting to pieces the bul warks of despotism at Sevastopol; but let it b with Russian gunpowder, for that alone is of suc Tartarian character as to do the work.

Then let the present Administration go down t Plymouth, and dig up their forefathers' rock, whic so much abhors the despots' race, break it to piece —ay, grind it to powder—but not cast it on th waters, for some St. Christopher may carry it t lands where again its influence may be felt: bu let Mr. Caleb Cushing carry it to Rome, and i mute solemnity, in the presence of the head o the American party, there give it to the Pope. Le him then deliver it to the Jesuits to carry to Mad rid, and under the Inquisition bury it full fort fathoms deep in the bowels of the ground.

But even then despotism could not sit secure, fo the blood of our patriot fathers would cry out fron the sky, 'Where is thy brother, Cain!' and th sky would answer with a curse. (Applause. Slavery is weak, but her armies are united. It ha commonly happened that when the aristocratic class has tyrannized over the democratic, the aris tocrats were many, and the victims few; the aris tocracy rich, the people poor; the aristocracy ed ucated, the bondsmen ignorant. Here it is re versed. Our masters one, we are many; they are poor, we rich; they are ignorant, we learned and intelligent. But yet we crouch down before them.

Will you wait, and not resist them? Will you wait until necessity, through the throat of the cannon, says: 'Do or die!' I would not wait so long. To-day we can check bondage with our votes; wait another Presidential term, and we can only efface bondage from this continent by wiping it out with the sacrifice of some of the best blood which runs in American hearts.

When we triumph, how rich will America become! America, the youngest of the nations, will be the mother of a continent, having a church without a bishop, a state without a King, a community without a lord, a family without a breeder of slaves; and we shall show the nations how divine a thing a people can be. (Loud applause.)

THE LIBERATOR,

BOSTON, MARCH 14, 1856.

THE MALICE OF BIGOTRY.

We have placed in its proper department, (see 'Refuge,') an editorial article from the Glasgow *Chronicle*, in which we are charged with 'infidelity,' 'sailing under false colors,' perverting the anti-slavery organization 'to objects apart from it, and alien to it,' and held up, in connection with the American Anti-Slavery Society, as unworthy of British sympathy or countenance. This is but one of a series of similar attacks which have been made upon us, in public and in private, on that side of the Atlantic, within a somewhat recent period, the source of which it is easy to trace on this side—a heart blacker than the complexion of him who carries it in his bosom being the active agent in this malicious impeachment, as we have reason to believe.

The bigot of the *Chronicle* affects to have been 'long reluctant to believe the allegations, which, years ago, began to be current about the infidelity of Garrison an his friends'; but he can doubt no longer! He has made the discovery that, in 1853, we attended and '*Anti-Bible* Convention' in Hartford, Ct. Now, no such Convention was ever held in that city. The call for the Convention was entirely non-committal in regard to the Bible, assuming nothing, and deciding nothing; it was signed by several clergymen, and by a choice collection of the best spirits of the age; it was not made to any particular class of philosophers, theologians, or thinkers, but was in good faith extended to all who felt any interest in the question of the Origin, Authority, and Influence of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. But he has also discovered, (what THE LIBERATOR at that time could have told him,) that we offered a series of resolutions, which he garbles in copying—*we* have printed them correctly—and which he is sure prove conclusively our 'infidelity'! We beg our readers to read and analyze them afresh; and we challenge our Scotch assailant, or any one else, to disprove a single proposition contained in them. We reaffirm their truthfulness in every particular. They are 'infidel' to what? Simply to a certain dogma of 'the American church and priesthood,' in regard to the Bible. Is the broadest dissent from these 'infidelity,' on any question? When did their infallibility commence, and who clothed them with papal authority? What can be more impudent than to assume a theological doctrine to be true, and then to brand as 'infidels' those who see or believe it to be utterly false?

There was an additional resolution we offered at the Convention, which the *Chronicle* found it convenient to omit, as showing the true distinction existing between what is eternal, and what transitory. It was in the following words:—

'Resolved, That 'THE WORD OF GOD is not bound,' either within the lids of any book, or by any ecclesiastical edict; but, like its Divine Author, was before all books, is everywhere present, and from everlasting to everlasting—ever enunciating the same law, and requiring the same obedience, being 'quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword'—the Bible itself being witness.'

To omit this resolution from the series is a specimen of the honesty of the spirit with which we have to contend. We must suppose it to have been intentionally suppressed until we are assured to the contrary. It embodies the doctrine which Penn, FOX, Barclay, and other eminent religious reformers defended with so much ability in their own times, and has as much relation to 'infidelity' as a logical proposition has to a broken leg.

The following extract from the speech that we made at the Hartford Bible Convention, in support of the resolutions we offered on that occasion, shows that we anticipated, both for ourselves and the American Anti-Slavery Society, the precise treatment we are receiving so unjustly at the hands of the poor self-conceited bigot of the Glasgow *Chronicle*:—

'Sir, I know well the cost of an appearance in a Convention of this kind. I anticipate all that will be said, *maliciously and opprobriously*, ON BOTH SIDES THE ATLANTIC, in regard to the resolutions which I have read in your hearing, and to my participancy in your proceedings. Already I hear the outcry of 'Infidel! *infidel!* INFIDEL!' on the part of those occupants of the pulpit, who, while they are strong in their 'coward's castle,' never dare to make their appearance on a free platform before the people. *I know, moreover, it will be said that this is another evidence of the infidel character of the anti-slavery movement. I know that the American Anti-Slavery Society will, by the bigoted and pharisaical, by the designing and wicked, be held responsible for the sentiments I may utter on this occasion.* Shall I, therefore, be dumb? Will it indeed injure the cause of the slave, so dear to my heart, for me to express my thoughts conscientiously about the Bible? I do not believe it. Have I any right to speak on any other subject than American slavery? or am I morally bound to give it my undivided attention? Why, sir, no freedom of speech or inquiry is conceded to me in this land. Am I not vehemently told, both at the North and at the South, that I have no right to meddle with the question of slavery? And my right to speak on any other subject, in opposition to public opinion, is equally denied to me; not, it is true, by the strong arm of government, but by the cowardly and tyrannical in spirit. Now, *I stand here,* NOT AS AN ABOLITIONIST, NOT TO REPRESENT THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE, *but simply as a man, uttering my own thoughts, on my own responsibility*; and, therefore, whoever shall avail himself of my presence here to make me odious as the advocate of the slave, or to subject any anti-slavery body to reproach on that account, *will reveal himself in his true character—that of a bigot, a hypocrite, or a falsifier.*'

We place this brand upon the forehead of the writer in the *Chronicle*, that he may be known in his true character at a glance. His professions of anti-slavery are worthless: with him, a besotted sectarian spirit is paramount to all the claims of bleeding humanity. In this country he would readily be an apologist for slavery at the North—a slaveholder at the South. Else why does he undertake to identify the American Anti-Slavery Society with the (falsely called) 'Anti-Bible Convention' at Hartford, neither of which has any more relation to the other than the temperance movement has to the Athanasian creed? And why—while claiming and exercising his right to promulgate his own sentiments on all subjects, on his individual responsibility, without having his anti-slavery integrity called in question—does he deny the same right to us, exercised in a similar manner? And why does he attempt to prevent British philanthropy from co-operating with the American A. S. Society, which is uncompromising in its opposition to slavery, and scrupulously faithful to all its pledges? Let him answer.

He professes to discover in one of our resolutions 'a spirit of bitter hostility to the ministers of religion as such—to the clergy as a body, *without exception or qualification*'!! We reply to him in the language of the speech we made at the Hartford Convention:—

'One of my resolutions affirms unequivocally, that if public sentiment should demand of the American clergy that they cast the Bible into the flames, they would as readily do it to-morrow, as to-day they are loud and voluble in their endorsement of it, in accordance with public sentiment. Is this an unjust charge? Do not the facts of the case warrant it? Where, as a body, do they stand? Are they not *always on the popular side*—always going with the multitude, even if it be to do evil? When or where, in any instance, have they dared to grapple with a corrupt public sentiment, and to run the risk of losing their salary and position in society? I tell you, sir, that men who can see the image of God desecrated, and three millions of their own countrymen trampled into the dust, and turned into goods and chattels, and sanction the awful deed, *because public opinion demands it at their hands*, are the men who would just as readily throw the Bible—all the books in the universe—into the flames, *if the same pressure were brought to bear upon them as in the case of the enslaved in our land.* The greater includes the less; 'for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifies the gift'—a man or a book? The clergy of the country, with here and there an exceptional case, have no other God before them than public sentiment. *Just as public opinion changes, they change.* They have no "higher law." They are facile trimmers and obsequious time-servers.'

We can add nothing to the moral certainty or logical force of this reasoning.

His eulogy upon Frederick Douglass and his Paper is just what might be expected. 'Birds of a feather,' &c

THE GOSPEL AND SHARP'S RIFLES.

In THE LIBERATOR of the 29th ult., we made some criticisms upon an article which appeared in the New York *Independent*, from the pen of HENRY WARD BEECHER, in reply to the New York *Observer*, respecting the comparative value of the Bible and Sharp's rifles in Kansas, against the 'Border Ruffians' of Missouri. Some points in that article were left unnoticed, for lack of space, and we now proceed to comment upon them, though with great brevity.

Mr. Beecher says—

'In the circumstances in which the men of Lawrence were placed, the knowledge that they had Sharp's rifles, and were determined to use them, would produce a more salutary impression upon vagabond politicians, and work more efficiently for peace, than all the moral suasion in the world.'

This is, certainly, placing a very light estimate upon 'all the moral suasion in the world,' making it utterly impotent to restrain the spirit of violence and murder, —for the cure of which, it seems, there is nothing so effectual as a resort to the very weapons which ruffians and cut-throats use, to accomplish their own evil designs! Now, a great principle is not to be determined, nor set aside as impracticable, by a single pressing emergency, however perilous; and nothing can be more unphilosophical, nor more illogical, than to assume that the principle, or course of conduct, which does not always shield from harm, or which sometimes, by a stern adherence to it, actually leads to a cruel death, is therefore to be rejected, and a bludgeon, bowie knife or rifle substituted therefor. Jesus admonished his disciples that, if they were faithful to his teachings, they would be cast out of the synagogues, and subjected to the most ignominious treatment; 'yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.' For, 'if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?' On account of his principles, he lost his own life; and, by adopting them, his disciples lost theirs. Now, if the preservation of life be the first object of regard, and if we are justified in confining our view to the fate of these victims of a bloody despotism, then 'the gospel of peace' is to be rejected as a false gospel; and, instead of adopting the language of Paul, 'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal,' we should exultingly exclaim, 'We are well supplied with Sharp's rifles, and ready to blow out the brains of any who shall attempt to molest us.' But, dear as life is, and natural as it is to desire its preservation, it is not to be placed above, nor put in competition with, obedience to the command of God, to the eternal law of justice and humanity, to the clear recognition of an imperative duty. If we can save it, only at the expense of the lives of others—only by wielding the weapons of death against our enemies—then it is nobler to surrender it, as Jesus laid down his own life, in the spirit of martyrdom, and the world shall be blest thereby. The principle of non-resistance does not guarantee that all who adopt it shall be safe as to life, liberty, and property; but it does raise the soul above the fear of death, inspire its possessor with the spirit of self-sacrifice, hold in check every murderous impulse, and lead to the forgiveness of all injuries; and, as a general rule, wherever it has been reduced to practice, it has been in the highest degree preservative. Whereas, a resort to murderous violence has so uniformly resulted in evil as to justify the declaration, 'All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.'

It is to beg the question to assume, that if the actual settlers in Kansas had all been animated by the spirit which Jesus exhibited toward those who thirsted for his blood, the 'Border Ruffians' would assuredly have destroyed them. Such a catastrophe, we admit, would have been possible, but not at all probable. If it had taken place, what then? 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.' We desire to sit in judgment with great tenderness and leniency upon the conduct of the people of Kansas, during the fiery ordeal through which they have been called to pass; they have shown rare circumspection and great forbearance; and, from a 'patriotic' stand-point, they deserve to be ranked with the men of '76. But are they not suffering, have not their lives been endangered, in consequence of their own sanguinary code—blow for blow, wound for wound, life for life? They unanimously reject the doctrine of non-resistance as fanatical; so do their brutal assailants:—they claim the discretionary right to kill others, when the occasion seems to warrant it; so do the Missouri invaders:—they believe that the end sanctifies the means; so do the misguided wretches who have put them to so much trouble, alarm and expense. Is it not plain, that the cure for all this is to be found in a recognition of the sacredness of human life, from which principle no possible violence or wrong can flow, but to the rejection of which every kind of outrage may be unerringly traced? It is no answer to say, that the Kansas invaders were 'a lawless band of marauders, who, in morals, character and purpose, were plainly nothing different from so many pirates on the sea, or bandits on the land,' and therefore in no condition to accept or comprehend this principle; for why should they accept or comprehend it, if it be not obligatory upon all? To a company of drunkards or winebibbers, the doctrine of tectotalism is an absurdity; shall sober men, therefore, reject the doctrine, and imitate their example? 'We preach Christ crucified,' said Paul—'unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.' So, we preach peace; but to the 'Border Ruffians,' and to the Kansas settlers, it is fanaticism and madness; nevertheless, to such of both parties as may receive it, it will prove to be the power and wisdom of God, as in the apostolic age. The cross or CHRIST is nothing more, nothing less, than NON-RESISTANCE OF ENEMIES—being willing to die for them, rather than seek their destruction. Take this feature of Christianity away, and its redeeming power has fled for ever.

Mr. Beecher says that though he is 'a peace man,' he has the greatest regard for Sharp's rifles, and 'for the pluck that induced those New England men in Kansas to use them.' This is as coherent and consistent as the pro-slavery plea, 'I am as much opposed to slavery as you are, but I do not believe slaveholding to be a sin *per se*.' It is as if a man should say, 'I am a Christian, but I glory occasionally in worshipping idols.' Such pretences are mockeries. 'If the Lord be God, serve him; but if Baal, then serve him.' Peace is the opposite of war, as truth is of falsehood, and neither can be substituted for the other by any combination of circumstances. 'But,' says Mr. Beecher, with a strange forgetfulness of the eternal distinction between a man (however fallen) and a beast, 'you might just as well read the Bible to buffaloes as to those fellows who follow Atchison and Stringfellow.' Reading the Bible to them is one thing; there are portions of it we should not care to read to them, under any circumstances; but to return them nothing but good for their evil, blessing for cursing, and to meet them in a defenceless state on the principle of 'peace on earth and good will to all men,' would prove a very different thing.

Is it not to be sorely pressed, yea, to yield the whole ground, to represent any class of our fellow-creatures as being on the same level with wild beasts? To such a desperate shift does the slaveholder resort, to screen himself from condemnation. The negroes, he avers, are an inferior race—a connecting link between men and monkeys—and therefore it is folly to talk of giving them liberty and equal rights.

For our own part, we deeply compassionate the miserable and degraded tools of the slave propagandists, who know not what they do, and (as Mr. Beecher correctly says) are 'raked together from the purlieus of a frontier slave State, drugged with whiskey, and bounded on by broken-down and desperate politicians.' But they are far less blameworthy than their employers and endorsers. To a great extent, they are the victims of a horribly false state of society in Missouri, and no doubt fearfully depraved; yet they are not beasts, nor to be treated as beasts. Convince us that it is right to shoot any body, and our perplexity would be to know where to begin—whom first to despatch, as opportunity might offer. We should have to make clean work of the President and his Cabinet—Douglas, Atchison, Stringfellow, Toombs, Wise, and their associates—Doctors Lord, Adams, Spring, Fuller, and others of the same cloth—Judges Loring, Kane, Grier, and Slave Commissioners generally—the conductors of such papers as the New York *Journal of Commerce*, *Observer*, *Express*, *Herald*, and the Satanic press universally. These are the intelligent, responsible and colossal conspirators against the liberty, peace, happiness and safety of the republic, whose guilt cannot easily be exaggerated. Against their treasonable course our moral indignation burns like fire, though we wish them no harm; only we are sure that they are utterly without excuse.

Mr. Beecher tells us—

'The Bible is a book of moral truths. In that sphere where moral truths are proper, it stands before all other instruments. But moral influences are not designed nor adapted to every work which needs to be done. In engineering, in husbandry, in navigation, there are powers which are mightier in these spheres than a Bible. At sea, for purposes of navigation, a book of logarithms is better than a Bible'—&c. &c.

This is all true; but when he adds, that it would be as absurd to talk 'about the sword of the Spirit being better for the defence of Lawrence against armed Missourians than is any rifle,' as it would be for the sailor to say that 'the sun of righteousness' is better for taking an observation at sea than the natural sun, he confounds all moral distinctions, and turns into burlesque the most sacred declarations of Scripture. We do not understand either the logic or the morality of the argument which affirms, that because an axe is better than a Bible with which to hew timber, therefore it is equally right and justifiable to shoot down or bayonet those who are for subjugating us to their despotic will. The axe is for the timber, and the use of it in that manner is excellent; but the bullet is not for the brain, was never designed for it, and cannot be so used without violating the great law of human existence. Evil for evil is not of God, nor of goodness. What Moses could not accomplish by his penal code and his ritual religion, Jesus came to achieve by the substitution of an inward for an outward worship, and of a divine spirit of forgiveness for injurious treatment. 'For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. . . . Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, [as Moses commanded]—but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.' Of himself we are told, that 'when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously; LEAVING US AN EXAMPLE THAT WE SHOULD FOLLOW HIS STEPS.' Again—'Worthy is the *Lamb* that was slain'—'Behold the *Lamb* of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!' It is in this sense that the Cross becomes the symbol of human redemption. 'For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? But if, *when ye do well, and suffer for it*, YE TAKE IT PATIENTLY, [by resorting to Sharp's rifles?] *this is acceptable with God.* FOR EVEN HEREUNTO WERE YE CALLED.'

Let us suppose Mr. Beecher and his church to be now in Kansas, acting upon the sanguinary principle he has laid down, and all of them armed with Sharp's rifles, waiting to get the first shot at the Missouri invaders. Let us inscribe upon their banner certain Scriptural injunctions, and see their congruity in such a connection: 'Be harmless as doves'—'Let the peace of God rule in your hearts'—'Recompense to no man evil for evil, but rather give place to wrath; I will repay, saith the Lord'—'See that none render evil for evil unto any man'—'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink'—'Forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, *if any man have a quarrel against any*; EVEN AS CHRIST FORGAVE YOU, SO ALSO DO YE'—'Being reviled, we bless; *being persecuted, we suffer it*; and TAKE JOYFULLY THE SPOILING OF OUR GOODS'—'For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh'—'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds'—'Whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?'—'The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance'—'Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God.'

Now, by what theological legerdemain or moral chemistry can declarations like these be made to harmonize with Sharp's rifles, and all the other murderous instruments of war, even though the latter be resorted to in defence of the holiest cause and the dearest rights of man? We do not quote them authoritatively; nor do we aver that they are binding, because found in the New Testament; but we do say, that they preclude all possibility of mortal strife on the part of those who receive them, and inculcate the sublimest lessons of patience, forbearance, and self-sacrifice, in the treatment of enemies, which, if reduced to practice, would enable every man to sit under his own vine and fig-tree, 'with none to molest or make afraid.' We quote them, moreover, because they are the teachings of Christ and his apostles, whom Mr. Beecher professes to receive as authority,—especially Christ, whose disciple and minister he claims to be. And here we must remark, that we do not marvel to find, in his argument for an effective use of Sharp's rifles, no more reference to Christ and his apostles than if he had never heard of their existence. For Christ, he adroitly substitutes Cromwell! For the apostles, he takes 'our ancestors, who had real long, ugly looking swords, made of steel and sharpened on grindstones, and when the Indians attacked them, they used them'—all the blame being thrown upon the Indians! With revolting facetiousness, he says—'The Puritans used to carry their muskets *and* Bibles with them to church: the one for the *inside* work, and the other for *outside* work'—as if there were any difference between the inside and the outside of such fighting Christians! And, finally, he consoles himself with the reflection, that 'if the recommendation of armed valor is a heresy; if to praise the efficacy of weapons of war in the day of battle be a sin,' he sins 'in company with pretty much the whole New England clergy in those old times which tried men's souls.' Well, be it so—does that settle the question? Are these belligerent clergymen, or Christ, to him 'the end of the law for righteousness'? Can they assume his responsibilities? Were they infallible? Is the right with numbers? In the language of another—'Generals command us to fight, under pretence of saving our country. Our Savior commands us not to fight, that we may save the world. Shall we forgive as individuals, and retaliate as communities? Shall we turn the other cheek as individuals, and plunge a dagger into the heart of our enemy as nations? We might as well be sober as individuals, and drunk as nations. We cannot serve our country in war, and serve God in peace. We cannot love our enemies, and kill them. Let us preach our Savior's peace, even if it brings us to our Savior's cross.'

☞ On our last page we have inserted the reply of our friend HENRY WARD BEECHER to our first article, that our readers may see precisely what are his sentiments—though we cannot expect to meet with equal fairness on the part of the *Independent*. As Mr. B. merely reaffirms his belief in the rectitude of the battle-field, under given circumstances, and declines to enter into a discussion of the subject, and is satisfied that he has on his side a vast majority of the Christian (?) world, he leaves us nothing to reply to beyond what his rejoinder to the *Observer* contained. He exhibits a kind spirit towards us.

THE 'PRINCE OF NUBIA,' ONCE MORE.

In the last number of THE LIBERATOR, we published a communication from a reliable source, warning the public against a young impostor, by the assumed name of LEO L. LLOYD, but who has been known by the name of BAKER, formerly a journeyman barber in Boston, who pretends to be 'the only son of the late King of Nubia,' (!) and has for some time been procuring money of the benevolent, under false pretences. Baker, alias Leo L. Lloyd, alias the Prince of Nubia, has since called upon us, and requested us to publish the following rigmarole as a reply to this impeachment of his character. We print it *verbatim; et literatim, et apostrophatim, et punctuatim*, not to display his ignorance, but for a special purpose, as will be seen in the sequel.

—

'*Beware of Impostors.*'

Under this most Significant heading in the Liberator of Friday, March 7th, 1856, I find an article which presents me to the public in the most embarising shameful and degrading light—and which tends to ruin my character with the public.—I speak thus because there is no Just foundation for the violent outrage which the writer in the Liberator has ben pleased to inflict upon me.

'Good name in man and woman deare my lord'
'Tis the immediate Jewel of theare Souls
He who steales my purse steales trash.—
'Tis Something—nothing—twas mine, 'tis his;
And has ben Slave to thousands.
But He that filches from me my good name,
Robs me of that which not Enriches him,
and makes me poor Indeed.

I will now repeat the langunge of the Liberator of which I complain—'The increasing antislavery feeling in the free States together with the Sympathy extended to those who have Escaped from oppression has induced many unprincipled persons to go through the country soliciting money for the professed purpose of purchasing relations or friends or Educating the person taking the donation Several of these Impostors have from time to time ben Exposed through the columns of the Liberator.'

For the last six months it has ben well known in Boston and Cambridge that I have ben under the direction of a Committee who have ben and are at this time directing my Education, and the only reason why I have ben out of school so long this winter was because theare has ben a Vacation in the school which they had designed for me to attend and during which time by theare permission I have done what I could for myself, But here is the End with the Liberator and its particular friends. I have made up my mind to go back to africa and I am striving to so Educate myself as to be of more use to my people there than I am or can be heare and this is what Constitutes me an Impostor whose duty it Becomes the writer in the Liberator to Expose through the Columns of its immaculate sheet—the Liberator goes on and says

'But by far the most successful Impostor of whom we have lately heard is a man who worked as a Journeyman barber in Brattel street Some two years ago under the name of Baker and who is now traveling through the country under the assumed name of Leo L Lloyd.'

What a beautiful thing it is to be a director of the deare people that they may not be duped by 'a small black man of neat figure; Short haire bright Eyes and with a Somewhat wiery walk and who has done much in the way of Committing other persons Speeches and poetry with ease.'

The name of Baker is a deare name to me it belongs to that body who protected me an orsphan boy from a time beyond the reach of my memory after God had ben pleased to deliver me of my father and mother Error rout between Africa and Spain while on board of the ship oacian the history and story of that portion of my life I have gained from her and theare is no tongue that wags between human lips whose story I would believe before hers and she gave me my fathers name to wit Leo Amerodosha in English Leo Lloyd although many persons call me after her name because I am her adopted son (is this not wonderfull Liberator) again I wish to say that it may be a disgrace in the eyes of the Editor of the Liberator to be a barber and from theose to aspire to be Educated and for that end get fifteen dollars of one man in new Bedford to pay my expenses while I commit 'other persons speeches and poetry and get them off with ease' to aid me in carying civilisation and christianity into Africa and to Enable the Prince of Nubia to 'glide over the snow with railroad speed' with some of the fairest Girls that Boston or the world can produce and his Royal Highness will always be pleased to foot the bill,' of such persons as are seen gliding over the snow with him, notwithstanding it may include an oyster supper. But theres one thing that gives me some surprise in what has ben said by the learned Editor I mean these words:—'Strange to say this brazen faced impostor has obtained the names of

CHAPTER II. FROM MY NOTE BOOK.

ANN ARBOR, (Mich.) March 5, 1856.

DEAR GARRISON:

Since writing you at Romeo, Mr. Powell and myself have been having some further anti-slavery experience, trials and triumphs, that are, perhaps, noteworthy. Accordingly, I will give you an abridged summary for THE LIBERATOR, containing the latest 'advices' from the war for freedom in this section of the 'Great West.' War! Yes—'First pure, and then peaceable,' is always the motto of the true reformer, as it is the first and fundamental principle of ethics, based on the immutable, everlasting, irrevocable and self-existing laws of justice, purity, and right. Hence, *absolutely*, there can be no peace to Democrats, Know-Nothings, Republicans, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, or to any other pro-slavery parties or sects, that breed 'God's image' for the shambles, wherein America's religion and republicanism,—in the persons of four millions of her native-born citizens,—are bought and sold for a *price*;—in view of which fact, what better is this nation of twenty millions of professed but pseudo-Christians and Democrats than a nation of Judas Iscariots?—for, 'inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of these little ones, ye have done it unto me.' Will the Church dare deny the testimony? If not, then let her expect and look forward to, as the speedy, fearful, but righteous and inevitable result of her position to the slave, (these little ones,) a revolution not alone of destruction for her iniquities, but of contempt for her hypocrisy; and just as sure as the laws of God are impartial and self-executing, just so certain will the slave walk up to manhood, over the ruins of a democracy pledged to piracy, and amid the resounding crash of the falling temples of a cradle-plundering religion. Do any honest defenders of American religion doubt that it is thus soulless, Christless, and cradle-plundering? If so, let them prove their honesty as well as their Christianity by at once and earnestly doing for the slave what they would have him do for themselves, were they in his terrible condition, the victims of the 'sum of all villanies,' and they will doubt no longer, but will find themselves, with all the true and tried friends of the slave, outside of any healthy (i. e. popular) organization, anathematized and excommunicated as infidels, and necessarily so too; for to be faithful to the slave is to be faithless to a slaveholding religion. To further substantiate the charge,—if, forsooth, that be needed at this late day,—of the slaveholding character of the American Church and clergy, and that too of the Church North, I will state a *fact*, and one too which I think will prove sufficiently *stubborn* for all practical purposes. Let me preface by saying, that from Romeo we went to Rochester, and left the arrangements for a meeting the next evening with a friend who had previously obtained the Baptist church for that purpose, while Mr. Powell and myself went to Pontiac to make appointments, which we succeeded in doing after a half day's hard labor with Hunkerism—but more of Pontiac anon. Upon our return to Rochester, our friend informed us that Elder Coleman, the local minister, had been re-enforced by a brother Elder in holding a series of meetings which they deemed paramount in importance to anti-slavery, and hence *Dei gratia*; and I suppose for this glory refused to fulfil their engagement and make good their word. But, to come to the *fact:* Our friend still being anxious to have meetings, said he would drop Mr. Powell a note, if the church could be had for the next Sunday evening, as it was not usually occupied on that night. Mr. P. received a note from Mr. B., the substance of which was as follows: Elder Coleman and his people feel that they cannot be diverted from their meeting, and that *an anti-slavery lecture would injuriously affect religious interests.* Yes, an anti-slavery lecture would 'injuriously affect'——what? worldly interests? political or social interests? No, but '*religious interests*'; and thus does this Baptist Elder (who, by the way, is 'as anti-slavery as anybody,') and his people demonstrate that their religion, whatever else it may be, is not the Christian religion, which 'breaks every yoke, and lets the oppressed go free.' It seems to me to be axiomatic, (self-evident,) that anti-slavery can injuriously affect nothing but pro-slavery; hence, according to the showing of this pious Elder and his people, their religion is pro-slavery—in favor of slavery. What is slavery? Man-stealing. Now, what shall we say of these Baptist saints? Why, if we speak the truth, simply and as a logical and moral necessity, that they *are* a 'Brotherhood of Thieves.'

At Troy, our next point, we found warm friends. Mr. P. spoke three times in the town-house, to deeply interested audiences, and most ably vindicated our movement from the charge of infidelity,—everywhere preferred against it,—to any thing but a slaveholding religion, and consequent fidelity to the slave; thus recommending it to the sympathies and efforts of all lovers of humanity. Elder Ross, a 'one horse' Baptist minister, kept himself, and did what he could to keep his congregation, away; but his influence is evidently evaporating, and unless the Baptist church of Troy get a more able pulpit incumbent, they will soon find themselves (as a church) below where the contempt of decently intelligent men gravitates. After bidding our Troy friends a hearty good bye, and carrying (I trust) their benedictions with us, we found ourselves at the end of an hour and a quarter's ride at Pontiac; a place hitherto ruled by what may be appropriately termed the American triumvirate, to wit, Democracy, Rum, and Religion, (not Christianity,) a place that drove out Liberty party eighteen years ago, and has ever since been a hot-bed of Hunkerism. Only six years since, that faithful friend and advocate of the slave, (Parker Pillsbury,) after a fruitless attempt to get a house to speak in, shook the dust from his feet as a testimony against it, and departed hence from its borders. With such precedents, we thought it something gained to get a house. Well, 7 o'clock came, and with it a full house, including some of the first men of the town, among the rest a Methodist minister, (and a Pierce or 'border ruffian' Democrat to boot,) as the sequel will prove.

Mr. P., after demonstrating the utter criminality of slavery, *per se*, handled the Democrats without gloves, in their open and shameless support of and allegiance to the slave system, to the evident satisfaction of the Republicans; but when he came to the Church, and showed up its guilty complicity, ecclesiastically as well as through the government, they began to dodge, and seemed anything but invulnerable. Pretty soon, one deacon jumped up, and wanted to know if Mr. P. was a professor of religion, and if so, what church he belonged to. Another wanted to know if he thought he had manifested a Christian spirit. Mr. P., in answer, said, that theological questions were not relevant on the anti-slavery platform; but for the information of the first gentleman he would say, that he *was* a professor of religion, that *his church* was the whole human family: to the other, the audience would judge what spirit he had manifested. A gentleman then rose, and proposed that Mr. Jacobs, the said minister, being present, should have the opportunity to defend himself. His defence was, that all that had been said was *false*—that he hoped he should not so far forget his manhood as to further notice what had been offered, and sat down, evidently and wisely deeming dignity his best defence.

The next evening, Mr. Powell substantiated all his charges, and then asked the people why a minister, a man of acknowledged talent and culture, had failed,—and that too on a free platform,—to clear himself from the charges of ecclesiastical complicity and fellowship with the 'sum of all villanies,' and as a Pierce Democrat, as being a willing servant of slavery and the devil. After such an overwhelming exposé of ecclesiastical rottenness, you can easily imagine that *clerical dignity* was at a ruinous discount in Pontiac.

At the close of his lecture, Mr. P. gave notice, that to-morrow evening he would consider at length the religious aspects of the cause. But the pious authorities were afraid of free discussion, and so locked the court-house against us. 'Tis conscience that makes cowards of us all.' Guilt is always cowardly, and so in Pontiac did *Dignity* and Democracy cover their inglorious retreat with the cowardly defences of bolts and bars. But it was of no avail; the people would hear, and, determined to maintain their own rights as well as ours to free speech, procured National Hall; and though nearly 8 o'clock, P. M., when it was opened, it was *filled*. Mr. P. spoke for an hour to an audience, most of whom seemed well paid for the trouble they had been to give him a hearing. At the close of the meeting, there were some rowdy manifestations. On our way home, we were treated to a rather crude dish of *succotash*, in the shape of corn and beans, from the boys, who pelted us furiously, but whose mobocratic dignity we did not call in question when we learned that they were mostly *Methodists*. The next day, Mr. Drake, the agent of the hall, received an anonymous note, saying, that should he open his hall again, that not only the property, but his head would be in danger. He evidently was not to be intimidated by cowards, but opened the hall, which, notwithstanding the threats of violence, and an admission fee to defray expenses, was well filled. The meeting passed off without any disturbance, and thus our triumph was complete; especially so, when I add, that some very kind and firm lady friends, anticipating violence, were our escort home, to whom we undoubtedly owe, and gratefully acknowledge, protection from insult, perhaps injury.

In conclusion, I hope the pious citizens of Pontiac will remember, that 'whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad;' and that people generally make up in temper what they lack in reason; and so remembering, bring forth works meet for repentance.

Yours, for first purity, then peace,

R. GLAZIER, JR.

THE SLAVEHOLDING SPIRIT.

AUGUSTA, GA., Feb. 6th, 1856.

FRIEND GARRISON:

It is my misfortune to be once more in this slavery-cursed region. Yesterday, in the cars, soon after leaving Macon for this place, it was reported that Banks was elected Speaker in Congress. I expressed my gratification, and was attacked by a vile scoundrel, whose name I ascertained to be Edmonson, from Atalanta, Ga. He threatened my life; and with the most villanous oaths that it was possible for the language of Billingsgate to invent, swore that nothing but my age prevented his cutting my head off. A fiend who sat near him exclaimed—'Kill the G—d d—d old Abolitionist! Never mind his age!' Edmonson said he was suckled and nursed by a nigger when a child, and now he was a nigger man, and would like to murder every man, woman and child from any of the free States who dared to show their heads in Georgia. His language was the most abusive and profane I ever heard. He left the cars at Milan for Milledgeville, and on leaving, threatened to drag me out, tie me to a tree, and make a nigger give me a hundred lashes. His threat, however, he did not fulfil. I listened with calmness to his abuse, but must own I felt frightened when I saw him feel for a large knife, the handle of which I could see partly concealed beneath his vest. On his leaving, he left a pool of tobacco juice not quite large enough to drown himself in.

I think it would be impossible to find a more degraded, vile, and polluted set of men on the face of the earth than can be met with in these slave States. There are exceptions, but they are rare. The whites are more degraded than the blacks—less polite, equally filthy, and more vulgar. Their common food is pork and tobacco, their common drink whiskey, and their common language profanity. If they can escape the damnation of hell, I think the rest of mankind are safe.

I am collecting many facts in reference to the accursed slave system, which I shall not fail to make known if my life is spared to return to New England. Work on, dear friend! This horrible system must be abolished. Truth and justice demand it, and God will accomplish it.

Yours ever, for the slave, ——.

☞ We suppress the name of our correspondent, for his own safety; but we certify that he is an estimable citizen of this Commonwealth, and his statements may be relied on. Such is 'our glorious Union!'—*Ed. Lib.*

ABOUT A FEW PLACES IN RHODE ISLAND AND CONNECTICUT.

Any word of report concerning the grand Cause for which we labor seems of sufficient moment to its friends to be worthy of record.

The feeblest breeze that effects a ripple on the surface of a pool, gives its impulse to the great system of circulation and purification in atmosphere and flood, and is not inappreciable to Him who holds with nicely adjusted beam the scale of life.

It is my great happiness to mention the kind sympathy and hearty coöperation of friends in Providence, Westerly, Ashaway, Coventry and East Greenwich in Rhode Island, Greenmanville, Putnam and Brooklyn in Connecticut, who, moved by a sense of justice to uphold the right, receive with open heart and hand such as seek to exalt the sacred principles of human liberty trampled down in our land. These have accepted their religious obligation to choose a lot with the slave, and not with his oppressor.

We are grateful for such sympathy, which cheers the heart and strengthens the hope, as well as for the grander consolations of unfailing power to support the soul.

The meetings at Westerly were very fully attended, owing to the thorough notice given by those unwearied friends of the slave, Mr. Charles Perry and Elder Burdick. Some were present to hear for the first time in their lives an anti-slavery lecture. One of these congratulated me on the success of the meetings, saying she thought the Anti-Slavery Society should only send out very prudent and discreet lecturers. In her opinion, the cause had suffered great detriment by failing in this point. I assured her that was just what the Society would most gladly do; but the 'prudent' and 'discreet' would not be sent out. They utterly refuse to come into such an unpopular movement. In view of the slave's extremity, the aid of no one was to be rejected.

In Rhode Island, your lecturer meets with numerous Quakers, Seventh-Day Baptists, Episcopalians, as well as the more indigenous Roger-Williams Baptists; and the equal footing these all obtain constantly reminds a stranger of the milder civil policy and more tolerant sway that mark the history of this little community, and distinguish it among its inflexible, iconoclastic colonial sisterhood.

The unwonted observer gets quite confused in Westerly at the facile arrangements of 'Seventh-Day' and 'First-Day' people, who live amicably side by side. On Saturday morning, you meet groups of Sunday-clad people, wending their way to church. In some of the factories, busy wheel and plying loom are suddenly silent. Among the shop windows on the street, you remark an alternation of open and closed shutters. Sunday morning comes, and more numerous worshippers appear, but, walking beside them, are the drivers of teams of oxen dragging ship-timber. Children with clean, folded pocket-handkerchiefs and Sunday-School books in their hands, meet troops of shouting boys, pulling their sleds after them, intent on a holiday's coasting. The whirr and the buzz of the factories are renewed with seemingly redoubled assiduity. Yesterday's state of the shop windows is reversed, saying very plainly, '*I kept* Seventh-Day,' and '*I keep* First-Day.' You accept the implied justification, and observe that amid all, nobody frowns, or seems in the least to have his serenity ruffled.

The generous hospitality extended to us in Greenmanville, by the excellent families who give name to the place, we cannot soon forget.

Mr. S. S. Griswold, who is a faithful anti-slavery preacher in his own neighborhood, and earnestly seconds the occasional labors of lecturers that visit Mystic, took me to speak to a Baptist Society. A very zealous member told us he did not wonder Methodists and Presbyterians stood aloof from anti-slavery. Any people who did not have honesty enough to admit what was so plain in the Bible, that *immersion* was the only *true baptism*, could have nothing better expected of them! He intended no humor by this remark.

Once, after I had offered the 'Mob Pamphlets' to such as chose to avail themselves of the opportunity to secure that valuable document, a man came up, and looking wishfully at them, I said, 'Will you have one?' He answered, with great difficulty, 'I can't *afford* it'; a quantity of tobacco and its concomitants holding pretty much entire possession of his organs of the divine faculty that philosophers tell us so distinguishes the human species.

There has been a movement on foot in Brooklyn for some time to raise such a monument as shall suitably testify their honor and respect for the memory of Gen. Putnam, whose dust reposes near that town. The Legislature has made a conditional appropriation of a handsome sum for the object, and every body is solicited to add something to complete the requisite amount. A devoted anti-slavery lady being asked to serve on a Committee for raising funds, replied that she felt the truest honor she could pay their hero was to promote the illustrious rights of man, which he defended with bravery; and that she should not be justified in giving her money to build the tombs of the Prophets of Freedom, while her greater champions of to-day languish for support.

It was very pleasant to speak in the same church in which SAMUEL J. MAY first began his pulpit ministry, that has been of such blessing to many earnest souls. The church itself is one of the very oldest to be seen in the country,—built more than a hundred years ago. Scattered around still live some families of his parish, where one hears his name spoken with grateful affection.

Every where in our travels we have found the snow lying in great depth. It was a beautiful sight in those days, the graceful, slender white birches, that stood along the railroads and carriage roads, with every bough and twig encased in ice, flashing and sparkling magnificently in the sunlight! Not Rachel with all her jewels was arrayed like these. It was not so fine a thing to enter a car huddled full of people, the stove hot as a fury, and the air terrible to describe. We thought of the truth with which that writer in the *Tribune*, pleading for car ventilation, says, that to enter a car by night requires as stern nerves and is far more dangerous than Gen. Putnam's memorable exploit in the wolf den.

March 4th, 1856. SALLIE HOLLIE.

POLITICAL ACTION CONSIDERED.

CORNVILLE, (Me.,) March 2, 1856.

'God did not put me into the world to free slaves, but to do right.'—*Wendell Phillips.*

'And now behold, the axe is laid at the root of the tree; and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.'—*Jesus.*

'If the truth shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.'—*Paul.*

DEAR BROTHER GARRISON:

It is more than ten years since I first heard the truth preached by you; and you, with others, have taught me to adopt those words I have quoted from Paul.

Starting with the three texts I have quoted, will you allow me a small space in THE LIBERATOR to say a few words which are constantly revolving in my mind? I used to believe that every thing said or written by friend PHILLIPS must be true and sound; but now I think I find some inconsistency in his late speeches. And I believe I am fully aware who *I* am, and who I am writing about, when I attempt to criticise such a man as WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE LIBERATOR once brought me a speech made by Mr. Phillips, in which he used the words at the top of this paper. Are those words true? I think they are; and I have tried, in all my concerns in life, to act upon the principle contained in them.

One year ago, WENDELL PHILLIPS, with others, spent much time in trying to get Judge Loring removed from his office. Had he been removed, how would it have been done? By political action. Who are these men who are to remove him? Slaveholders, every one of them. Have they not all taken an oath to support the U. S. Constitution? Will Mr. Phillips swear to support the Constitution? No. Then, is it right for him to ask others to do that which he will not do himself? Is political action right? If it is, then let us all go into it. If it is not, then let us not touch it. I believe it is wrong, all wrong, now and for ever; hence, I must not act politically, to save the world. Who has shown us that political action is right? I have yet to hear or see the first man. The principle of urging others to do that which we think wrong to do ourselves, is a very dangerous one, and unsafe to follow.

In friend Phillips's speech at the Anniversary Meeting in Boston, he seems to have no other hope for the slave but in the Judiciary. Who is this Wisconsin judge he tells of? Is he not a slaveholder? Is he not bound by an oath to support the U. S. Constitution? Is it right to take an oath? Can a man be free, and take an oath? If it is wrong to take an oath, then we must not do it.

Let us ever keep before our eyes, that 'God did not put us into the world to free slaves, but to do right.' Slavery came by wrong doing; it must be done away by doing right.

Under Christianity, there is no such thing as political action. Mankind are to be saved by the preaching of TRUTH. How are mankind to be saved from sin, and made free? By political action? Never! They have tried it thousands of years. 'If the TRUTH shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.'

'He is the freeman whom the TRUTH makes free,
And all are slaves besides.'

It seems to me the moment we begin to have any faith or trust in political action, all is lost. Can Satan cast out Satan? Will slavery ever be destroyed in this country, so long as the government exists? Never! Slavery is part and parcel of it. When we lay the axe at the root of the tree, (government,) then will all wrong cease, and not till then. This is the last human government that will ever exist on earth. No more republics; no, not even a Northern Republic. A republic without sin? Impossible! Do not hold out the idea that there ever can be such a thing as government without sin. It never can be. Man was never made to be governed by might. God made man to be free. Was he ever free under any kind of government? Never. Can the individual be free in a Northern Republic? I wish some one would show how it is to be done.

Look at the troubles in Kansas. Where do they come from? They are only the roots of the tree planted when the government was formed. They are just beginning to reach there. Will rifles keep them out? O, what insanity to think of it! We have nothing to do with slavery going to Kansas. The battle is not there. Our business is to preach truth—to show that man is to be governed by the principles of Christianity, which are Love, Liberty, Justice, Right and Truth. The election of a Northern man for Speaker must be no cause of rejoicing for us. Banks can do no more for the slave than Aiken of South Carolina, with his thousand slaves. Both are slaveholders; both are sworn to keep down the slave. 'Our trust for victory is solely in God,' said some one. 'By the help of God, we continue unto this day,' said Mr. Garrison. Where is there any other hope for down-trodden man?

How can a man profess to be a Non-Resistant at one time, and seem to favor political action at another? It seems to me that this is the case with friend Garrison and H. C. Wright; and as for S. S. Foster, he is lost. He has led a glorious life of self-denial, but now I believe him lost to the cause of truth.

One word more the cause of truth demands of some one. Why is it that our friends across the water are so very earnest to get some great man (so-called) to preside over their meetings? Are they so vain as to suppose it will advance the cause of truth? Who ever knew a Mayor, Lord, Duke, or Governor, to be a Christian? I had much sooner have Frances H. Drake or Reuben H. Ober to preside over a meeting, for I should not fear they would be afraid of the truth.

Before I close, allow me to say one word in relation to the 'Refuge of Oppression.' I entirely disagree with Bro. Everett. I believe the 'Refuge' to be invaluable. What could the future historian do without it? How should I know what is going on among the defenders of wrong without the 'Refuge'? What are a man's principles good for, if he is converted to slavery by reading that department of THE LIBERATOR? I also earnestly thank you for your Christian refusal to deliver a lecture in the course on Slavery. Dr. Howe's defence was very weak indeed.

Let us ever keep in mind those noble and truthful words at the commencement of this letter—'*God did not put me into this world to free the slaves, but to do right.*'

Yours, for the redemption of man,

S. MITCHELL.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

The colored citizens of New Bedford have been holding a series of public meetings to consider the pro-slavery character of the African M. E. B. Church on Kempton street. Solomon Peneton was elected chairman, and Henry Johnson clerk. On motion of L. H. Brooks, a committee of three was chosen to bring in a Preamble and Resolutions for the consideration of the meeting. The committee consisted of Henry Johnson, John Freedom, and Dr. Thomas Bane. The committee, through their chairman, reported the following Preamble and Resolutions:—

Whereas, Repeated applications having been made to the African M. E. B. Church on Kempton street, for the use of their house to hold public meetings for the purpose of raising money to assist such as are daily making their escape from some portion of the slave States, and whom Divine Providence may direct among us, destitute of the means to make them comfortable; and whereas, said church, through their board of Trustees, having refused their house, for ten or fifteen years, to assist even their own mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, uncles, and aunts; therefore,

Resolved, That when we take a retrospective view of the history of the anti-slavery cause, the labors and early persecutions of William Lloyd Garrison and his coadjutors, whilst defending the cause of the slaves, together with the rights of the free colored people of the country; and when we consider what the good God has accomplished for us, through these friends; then for us to find a pro-slavery church of colored people in the city of New Bedford, under the garb of Christianity, it is a dangerous foe to our fellow-man, and an insult to that God whom they pretend to love and serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of this meeting to take a decided stand against the said church, and to hold it up to the gaze of all Christians, the scorn and contempt of the civilized world.

Resolved, That it is our duty to warn every slave from becoming a member of the African M. E. B. Church on Kempton street; for they are like the beacon blaze upon the distant rock, warning the mariner that its approach is dangerous and its contact is death.

Resolved, That we shall never consider said church in any other light than a pro-slavery body, until they shall abandon their present disgraceful and pro-slavery position.

Resolved, That we shall continue our warfare against the above church, until the principle of slavery shall have received its death-blow, and the true fundamental principles of Christianity and anti-slavery ride predominant over its grave.

The above resolutions were warmly debated by Wm. Berry, H. O. Remington, John Freedom, L. H. Brooks, H. Johnson, Wm. Piper, Wm. Bush, Rev. Wm. Jackson and others, and it was voted that they be published in the New Bedford *Standard*, Boston *Liberator*, and *Frederick Douglass's Paper*.

On motion of Wm. Berry, it was voted that the publication of the above preamble and resolutions be delayed for one week, until we make another application.

MONDAY EVENING, Dec. 24th. A large and enthusiastic meeting of the colored citizens convened in the African M. E. Zion Church, to hear the report of the committee, chosen to wait upon the Trustees of the African M. E. B. Church for the use of their house to hold the meetings of the Vigilant Aid Society. The President being absent, the meeting was called to order by Mr. Alfred Swan, Vice President, after which the following correspondence, between the above Society and the Trustees of the church, was read.

Correspondence of the New Bedford Vigilant Aid Society with the Board of Trustees of the African M. E. B. Church.

NEW BEDFORD, Dec. 17, 1855. Having been informed by some of your members, that we have made the right application for the use of your house of worship, to hold the meetings of the above named society, and feeling to do all in our power to unite instead of separating us, seeing that we are a degraded and down-trodden race together, it has been voted by this meeting to make another application for the use of your house of worship, to hold the public meetings of the Vigilant Aid Society. The committee, who shall present to you this paper, has been legally chosen and authorized to wait upon you, to secure, if possible, your house of worship for the above object.

Please answer this in writing, and greatly oblige yours in behalf of the meeting.

HENRY JOHNSON, *Clerk.*

NEW BEDFORD, Dec. 18, 1855. Esteemed Sir: We take this method to inform you, that our church is engaged every night during the week. Also, we are of the opinion that every church is a sovereign within itself, and has an undoubted right to govern itself as it may deem best for its own advantage or good; therefore, while we co-operate with the Vigilant Aid Society in their sympathy toward the oppressed and down-trodden, and are willing to aid them by our means at any time when practicable, yet *we cannot admit public meetings to be held in our church or house of worship.* Signed in behalf of the Trustees,

JOHN WARFIELD, *Clerk.*

The following Preamble and Resolution were then presented by H. O. Remington. Having been warmly debated, they were adopted, and voted to be published with the rest of the resolutions above named.

Whereas, the African M. E. B. Church, of New Bedford, has arrayed itself against God, liberty and the bleeding bondman, by shutting its doors against a society, which has for its object the fundamental principles of the Gospel, and aids the poor panting fugitive out of the clutches of wicked human bloodhounds, and gives him a crust of bread and a cup of cold water, and bids him God speed on his way from the prison-house of bondage; therefore,

Resolved, That said church is anti-Christian, a blind guide, a synagogue of Satan, a cage of unclean birds; and unless it repents, ought to be immediately abandoned by all good men.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. A. J. G., Earlville, Ill. The pamphlets of which he speaks were duly forwarded to him, by mail, prepaid, at the time ordered. Another copy of the Annual Report is now forwarded.

☞ Large donation parties have recently been given to the pastors,—Rev. Thomas Hanson and Rev. L. A. Grimes,—of the Belknap and Southac Streets Baptist churches.

☞ On the 5th of March, a social club meeting occurring opportunely, it was improved in part as a commemoration of the eighty-sixth anniversary of the Boston Massacre, (1770,) and martyrdom of Crispus Attucks.

☞ Mr. James Bell, whose name was used in connection with that of Leo L. Lloyd in our last paper, wishes us to correct the error, and to say that he has had no concern with the latter.

From the American Baptist.

A VISIT TO THE SLAVE MOTHER WHO KILLED HER CHILD.

Last Sabbath, after preaching in the city prison, Cincinnati, through the kindness of the Deputy Sheriff, I was permitted to visit the apartment of that unfortunate woman, concerning whom there has been so much excitement during the last two weeks.

I found her with an infant in her arms only a few months old, and observed that it had a large *bunch* on its forehead. I inquired the cause of the injury. She then proceeded to give a detailed account of her attempt to kill her children.

She said, that when the officers and slave-hunters came to the house in which they were concealed, she caught a shovel and struck two of her children on the head, and then took a knife and cut the throat of the third, and tried to kill the other,—that if they had given her time, she would have killed them all—that with regard to herself, she cared but little; but she was unwilling to have her children suffer as she had done.

I inquired if she was not excited almost to madness when she committed the act. No, she replied, I was as cool as I now am; and would much rather kill them at once, and thus end their sufferings, than have them taken back to slavery, and be murdered by piece-meal. She then told the story of her wrongs. She spoke of her days of suffering, of her nights of unmitigated toil, while the bitter tears coursed their way down her cheeks, and fell in the face of the innocent child as it looked smiling up, little conscious of the danger and probable suffering that awaited it.

As I listened to the facts, and witnessed the agony depicted in her countenance, I could not but exclaim, Oh, how terrible is irresponsible power, when exercised over intelligent beings! She alludes to the child that she killed as being free from all trouble and sorrow, with a degree of satisfaction that almost chills the blood in one's veins; yet she evidently possesses all the passionate tenderness of a mother's love. She is about twenty-five years of age, and apparently possesses an average amount of kindness, with a vigorous intellect, and much energy of character.

The two men and the two other children were in another apartment, but her mother-in-law was in the same room. She says she is the mother of eight children, most of whom have been separated from her; that her husband was once separated from her twenty-five years, during which time she did not see him; that could she have prevented it, she would never have permitted him to return, as she did not wish him to witness her sufferings, or be exposed to the brutal treatment that he would receive.

She states that she has been a faithful servant, and in her old age she would not have attempted to obtain her liberty; but as she became feeble, and less capable of performing labor, her master became more and more exacting and brutal in his treatment, until she could stand it no longer; that the effort could result only in death, at most—she therefore made the attempt.

She witnessed the killing of the child, but said she neither encouraged nor discouraged her daughter-in-law,—for under similar circumstances she should probably have done the same. The old woman is from sixty to seventy years of age, has been a professor of religion about twenty years, and speaks with much feeling of the time when she shall be delivered from the power of the oppressor, and dwell with the Savior, 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.'

These slaves (as far as I am informed) have resided all their lives within sixteen miles of Cincinnati. We are frequently told that Kentucky slavery is very innocent. If these are its fruits, where it exists in a mild form, will some one tell us what we may expect from its more objectionable features? But comments are unnecessary. P. S. BASSETT.

Fairmount Theological Seminary,
Cincinnati, (Ohio,) Feb. 12, 1856.

From the Cleveland Leader.

END OF THE FUGITIVE CASE.

When Marshal and Gaines, the slave-catchers, had secured the fugitives in the Covington jail, they repaired to the Magnolia House, where a large crowd had assembled. Corn whiskey was freely used, and as a large number of Democrats from Cincinnati was in attendance, it was determined to make a public demonstration. We copy the proceedings from the Cincinnati *Gazette*, a paper that has always avoided saying any thing against the Fugitive Law, and which, therefore, could not have published an over-drawn picture:—

SPEECHES OF ROBINSON AND FLINN, OF CINCINNATI, AND FINNELL AND GAINES, OF KENTUCKY.

Mr. Robinson, the U. S. Marshal, being loudly called for, took a position on the balcony of the Magnolia House, while the crowd gathered in the street below. He commenced by saying, 'We, in Ohio, may well be proud this day that our sovereignty as a State has been maintained by vindicating the sovereignty of the State of Kentucky.' (Applause.) He then denounced, in good round terms, the abolitionists of Ohio—spoke of his own personal courage, and his determination to do his duty. He did not claim that in this case he had done anything more than his duty.

MR. FINNELL'S SPEECH.

Mr. Finnell was next called out. He said, that though Mr. Robinson claimed no credit for doing anything but his duty, yet in doing that he had well merited the commendation of the good book, of 'Well done, good and faithful servant.' (Applause.) He then said he loved the Union, and that it was far dearer to him than it was two hours ago. (Applause.) You may talk as much as you please about the chivalry of Kentucky, I tell you the salvation of Kentucky and of the South, and the continuance of our domestic institution, depend entirely upon the continuance and integrity of our Federal Union.' (Tremendous applause.)

MR. GAINES'S SPEECH.

Mr. Gaines said, 'I'm ten thousand times obliged to you, gentlemen, for your diligence in preserving the laws and carrying them out; but I am no speech-maker. Mr. Flinn will speak for me.'

Jacob Flinn then said, he could assure them that no mercenary motives actuated Mr. Gaines in pursuing these slaves. It was a pure matter of principle with him, for they had cost him more money than would boulder that whole street with woolly-heads.

It was proved in the trial, that the fugitives were free, and did not belong to those who claimed their service; it was proved that the laws of Ohio had been violated in their arrest; it was proved that the court had no jurisdiction in the case. But the trade of the South must be secured; and so Commissioner Pendery decided that the slaves were the property of Marshall and Gaines; and so Judge Leavitt overruled the law, and authorized Marshal Robinson to bind them and convey them to a land of bondage; and so a body-guard of Union-savers assembled, and escorted the slave-catchers in triumph to the ferry-boat. As soon as the boat put out into the stream, a crowd of Kentuckians gathered around Mr. Marshall, one of the claimants, and congratulated him on his success. Said one of them, 'Aint this worth a thousand dollars!' 'Yes,' replied another, 'we've got that —— abolition State under foot now, and by —— we'll keep it there!' A third said, 'Oh, it's too good!' Thus they expressed their feelings, and thus they exulted over the fallen dignity of Ohio, till they reached the Kentucky side. A scene of drunkenness then ensued which no pen can portray. In the midst of it a citizen of Cincinnati was brutally beaten for no other offence than residing in the abolition State of Ohio!—We have given this brief history of events, in order to let our readers know how the Union-savers of Cincinnati secured the trade of the South.

'The Rev. Theodore Parker has been lecturing at Rochester, N. Y. In glancing at Kansas affairs, he dwelt at some length upon the virtues of Sharp's rifles, which he thought *the best argument that could be used* to keep slavery out of the territory and freedom in. What a ferocious saint this Reverend gentleman is! When the Burns riot here was exciting the community, this valiant apostle slept with blunderbusses under his bed, and swords hanging around it—indeed, we should not be surprised if his mattress were stuffed with Colt's revolvers. Yet we consider him as arrant a coward as ever ensconced himself behind a pulpit to libel and blackguard men as far before him in every quality honorable to human character, as the sun is above the earth; indeed, no better than a mouthing poltroon, who, without intrinsic merit sufficient to excite admiration, seeks notoriety through that extreme conduct which arrests attention by its shameless outrage of the rules of common justice and common decency.'

☞ The above is from the Boston *Post*—of course. The *Post* says Mr. Parker is a coward. Is that the reason why it ventures to make this scurrilous attack?

NEW HAMPSHIRE. The annual State election took place in New Hampshire on Tuesday last. Although the 'Border Ruffian' Democracy of the State has not been able to effect a victory most desperately struggled for, still, its gains are large, indicating extreme moral degradation on the part of the people.

LETTER OF REV. DR. FULLER. The letter of this notorious pro-slavery Doctor of Divinity is an ethical curiosity—blowing hot and cold with the same breath—playing fast and loose with the sacred rights of humanity—and exhibiting the skill of a moral necromancer.

DR. HEBBARD'S POEM.

An Anti-Slavery poem, well adapted to the times, was delivered by Dr. HEBBARD, of West Newton, at the Tremont Temple, on Tuesday evening last, to a highly intelligent audience. It indicated the possession of a fine poetical talent, with a correct ear as to rhythm, on the part of the writer, as well as a burning love of liberty, and the strongest moral detestation of slavery. The verdict of those who listened to it, and of the city press, has been full of encouragement for its delivery in other places, in accordance with the object for which it was specially prepared. Dr. H. has a fine personal appearance, an excellent voice, and an earnest delivery. Regretting that we cannot find room this week to give a synopsis of his Poem, we heartily wish him great success in his rehearsal of it, far and wide.

☞ THE MASSACHUSETTS REGISTER, for 1856, is published by Mr. George Adams, and presents evidence of diligence and care in its records, which render it, by far, the most useful and elaborate work of the kind ever printed in this State. Mr. Adams deserves warm commendation for the fidelity and ability he displays in this volume, and we are confident his labors will be rewarded by a sale of his work worthy of its practical merits.

☞ The lecture of E. P. Whipple, Esq., the last of the Anti-Slavery course at the Tremont Temple, was delivered on Thursday evening, last week. Absence from the city prevented our listening to it; but it was well received by the audience. We shall endeavor to give the report of it in the *Atlas*, next week.

☞ Several book notices are unavoidably deferred till our next number.

LECTURES TO GENTLEMEN,
ON
ANATOMY, PHYSIOLOGY AND HEALTH,
AT THE
N. E. FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE, 274 WASHINGTON ST.

At the request of Members of the Legislature, and other gentlemen, a Course of Eight *Conversational Lectures*, illustrated with manikins, anatomical preparations, &c., will be given by WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., one of the Professors in the College, commencing at 7½ o'clock, on MONDAY EVENING, Feb. 18, and continuing at the same hour on THURSDAY and MONDAY evenings.

These Lectures are free to the members of the Legislature, who are respectfully invited to attend whenever it may suit their convenience. At the close of any of the Lectures, the Secretary will give (to Members who may desire it) information respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the College, and explain the nature and object of the change in its charter and organization which the Board of Directors have recently petitioned the Legislature to make.

Tickets for the Course, $1 each, to be had of the subscriber, at the College, 274 Washington street.

SAMUEL GREGORY, M. D., *Sec'ry.*
Boston, Feb. 16, 1856.

☞ CHARLES SPEAR will deliver a lecture in the Unitarian church at Lexington, next Sabbath afternoon. Subject: Influence of Crime at Home. He will also lecture on Monday evening, in Robinson's Hall, at 7 o'clock, before the schools.

☞ THE WORCESTER CO. NORTH A. S. SOCIETY will hold its nineteenth annual meeting at Fitchburg, Fast Day—commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing through the day and evening.

Mr. GARRISON and others will address the Convention. D. M. ALLEN, *Sec'y.*

☞ ANDREW T. FOSS and JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Agents respectively of the Massachusetts and American Anti-Slavery Societies, will hold meetings as follows:

Wilton,	N. H.,	Friday eve'g,	March 14.
Hancock,	"	Sunday	" 16.
Peterborough,	"	Monday eve'g,	" 17.
Dublin,	"	Tuesday "	" 18.
Fitzwilliam,	"	Wednesday "	" 19.
Marlboro',	"	Thursday "	" 20.
Troy,	"	Friday "	" 21.
Keene,	"	Sunday,	" 23.

☞ WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will hold meetings, for the present, in Rhode Island.

AARON M. POWELL, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold a series of meetings at Morenci, Lenawee Co., Mich., commencing Monday evening, March 17.

☞ A SACRED CONCERT will be given at the Baptist Church, Joy street, on Sunday evening next, March 16. Several choice selections will be sung, among which are the following:—'With verdure clad'—from the Creation—'Deeper and deeper still'—from 'Jeptha'—'Comfort ye'—'Come unto him'—'Lift up your heads'—from the 'Messiah', &c. &c.

Doors open at half past 6 o'clock; concert to commence at half past 7 o'clock. Tickets 25 cents, to be had at the door.

☞ PLACE WANTED—A young colored man, 22 years of age, wants a place in a family, hotel, or store; he has been used to work in a grocery-store, as well as in a family. Apply to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill.

☞ Applications for Mrs.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE GREATER DAY.

BY G. W. PUTNAM.

'Twas a great day for earth ; the tyrant's flail
Had threshed the wheat, and flung the chaff on high;
A world was on the deep—the Mayflower's sail
Loomed in the winter sky.

The while the old world groaned beneath the ban,
And on the rack great Gallileo lay,
Rose the free altars of the Puritan
By Massachusetts' Bay.

Great was the day which saw the startling scene,
When from the farm-homes in each Northern glen,
At the bell's signal to the village green,
Came up the minute men ;

When the bright spring grass by the church's door,
On Lexington's broad plain was torn and red,
And sadly to their homes at night they bore
The free and glorious dead ;—

Great when the Pilgrim land was widely wet
With patriot blood, when Warren fell and died ;
When Kosciusko and young Lafayette
Rode by our Hero's side ;

When down green Jersey's plains and hills of sand,
The Yager cut-throats went forth in their wrath,
And War's dark spectre, with its crimson hand,
Wrote 'Woe' along their path ;—

Great, when throughout the land the storm had burst
O'er Saratoga's hot plains, sad and slow,
Their Lion banners trailing in the dust,
Marched out the conquered foe ;

When to the field of Monmouth, hurrying down
From Valley Forge, the starved battalions came,
And to the hireling minions of the Crown
Answered with hail and flame !—

When the white angel bade the contest cease,
Staunched the deep wounds whence flowed a people's life,
And Yorktown's fall set the broad seal of peace
Upon the weary strife ;—

Great, when the old lands saw upon the sky
A strange star-lighted banner first unfurled,
And a new Nation turn with majesty
Its front unto the world.

No jot or tittle of the mighty past
Upon Time's glorious scroll shall fade away ;
Yet Truth proclaims, as with a trumpet-blast,
Ours is the greater day !

Then one false heart was scorned our country through,
Accursed on field, by camp-fire and by hearth ;
To-day the false hearts pass in endless view,
The Arnolds swarm the earth !

Freedom this hour is stabbed by countless hands—
Along our streets her blood licks up the dust !
The haughty priests of Christ, those hireling bands,
Have sold their holy trust.

Rich in her gold, steeped to the lips in crime,
Her garments trailing blood along the sod,
Canting and whining up the path of Time,
Comes the proud 'Church of God.'

To-day, the patriot, bearing Freedom's sign,
Standing as erst in Eden Adam stood,
Sees stretching to the far horizon line,
A creeping, crawling brood.

They mock at Truth in every hallowed place ;
Where loftiest statesmen stood, the meanest climb ;
Round the broad land that fecund viper race
Leave their foul trail of slime.

They festoon every judgment-seat with chains,
As priceless laurels count the iron wreath,
And perjured judges, for their little gains,
Creep humbly underneath.

Throned tyrants jeer, the world astonished sees,
The while, o'er Northern heads the slave-whips crack,
Old Massachusetts begging on her knees
To buy her children back !

Nay, boast not that your white limbs know no chains,
That Northern backs as yet no lashes feel :—
Hark ! the west winds bring back from Kansas' plains,
Drum-beat and clash of steel !

When o'er the prairie pours the morning beam,
On hurrying men and fresh redoubt it shines ;
The bugle's voice is heard, the weapons gleam
Along the battle lines !

God keep our wanderers well ! let them not yield
Their rifles in their hands ; in Freedom's name,
Cromwell remembering, and old Naseby's field,
Keep bright the Puritan fame !

Thus stand they forth to-day in manly guise ;
So answer we that they may see who roam,
The blaze of freedom lighting up the skies
O'er their old Northern home.

Renew we in the morning of the year
Our solemn pledge to Heaven and to the slave,
To battle on, above all hope and fear,
Till o'er us shuts the grave.

Down in the pit of darkness lies our brother,
Down where no foot save that of Christ hath trod ;
One hand is his in death-grasp—and the other
Is round the heart of God.

He shall come up to light ! Let the blows fall,
Though rocks the guilty land from side to side !
The power which batters down the bondman's wall
Shall let in Freedom's tide.

Unto our cause the wide world's hopes are given,
Its mighty grasp is on all coming time ;
No age hath ever seen beneath high heaven
A battle so sublime !

O, record of the great and mighty past !
Thy glorious words shall never fade away ;
Yet Truth proclaims, as with a trumpet-blast,
This is the greater day !

LITTLE THINGS.

Do something for each other—
Though small the help may be ;
There's comfort oft in little things,
Far more than others see !—
It takes the sorrow from the eye,
It leaves the world less bare,
If but a friendly hand come nigh
When friendly hands are rare !
Then cheer the heart which toils each hour,
Yet finds it hard to live ;
And though but little 's in our power,
That little let us give.

We know not what the humblest hand,
If earnest, may achieve ;
How many a sad anxiety
A trifle may relieve :—
We reck not how the aged poor
Drag on from day to day ;
When e'en the little that they need
Costs more than they can pay !
Then cheer the heart that toils each hour,
Yet finds it hard to live ;
And though but little 's in our power,
That little let us give.

Charles Swain.

Manchester, (England,) Jan. 15, 1856.

THE CONFLICT.

Our fathers to their graves are gone ;
Their strifes are o'er, their triumphs won ;
But nobler conflicts wait the race
That rises in their honored place ;
A moral warfare with the crime
And folly of an evil time.

THE LIBERATOR.

A CHOICE SPECIMEN OF PRIESTLY ARROGANCE AND BIGOTRY.

A copy of the following correspondence having accidentally fallen into our hands, during our recent visit to Auburn, (N. Y.) we take the liberty to publish it, as one of the 'richest' exhibitions of priestly arrogance and bigotry, on the part of the Rev. 'Walter Ayrault, Rector of St. Peter's Church,' that we have seen for some time past. Mr. Mellen, who replies to his letter, is now settled, we believe, over the Universalist Church at Gloucester, Mass.—*Ed. Lib.*

Auburn, Wednesday morning, 10th November, 1852.

Mr. Mellen :

My Dear Sir,—I received your note last evening through the post office, and would thank you for the *courtesy* intended by the invitation ; but, in declining it, you will permit me to say, that I could never associate myself with you in any enterprise in which you act or appear as a *teacher of Christianity* in the community; and as such, I gather, from the tenor of your note, you wish to be regarded by those whom you expect to meet at your house on Friday, as you sign yourself '*Pastor of the Universalist Church.*'

Regarding, as I do, your peculiar religious principles, and the *whole system of Universalism*, with the *utmost abhorrence*, you will see at once it would be quite wrong and inconsistent to associate myself with you in any way as a clergyman of this city.

But I beg you to understand, that while I thus regard your *position* in the community as just the *antagonist and opposite of my own*, as teaching for truth what I think to be *utterly false*, still, as a man and as a citizen in private life, I should always treat you with that courtesy and kindness which are due from a Christian and a gentleman.

The care and *substantial relief* of the wants of the poor have always formed one of the principal objects of my calling as Christ's minister, and I can assure you it will never be lost sight of.

Declining, therefore, with the utmost *personal* kindness, all coöperation with you in any such way as you propose, and proposing to devote myself to the care of the poor in other ways, you will, I trust, believe me,

Your sincere well-wisher,

WALTER AYRAULT,
Rector of St. Peter's Church.

Auburn, Nov. 17, 1852.

Rev. Walter Ayrault :

My Dear Sir,—The note which you sent me, in reply to one inviting you to meet the other clergymen of this city at my house on Friday last, has been received, and would, had it not been for a great press of professional duties, have been answered before this. I presume I need not tell you I was astonished,—though no less *amused* than astonished,—at the extraordinary character of that document. Had I been in Rome, and you in the Pontifical Chair, I might have anticipated as much ; but in this country, and in this age, I did not look for *such* an exhibition of *Christian charity* and *brotherly kindness*. Do not understand me, however, as presuming to *question* the righteousness of your decision and conduct. What arrogance would it be in me to doubt, what infidelity to deny, the infallibility of the Rector of St. Peter's Church ! No ; I am, I trust, truly grateful that I am permitted to live in the same town, to walk the same streets and inhale the same atmosphere which you condescend to do, and which have been purified by your presence. It is my most fervent desire, that these high privileges may be improved.

You tell me that you 'regard the whole system of Universalism with the utmost abhorrence.' How could it be otherwise than that one of your marked benevolence of character should do so ? Why, the doctrine that all will finally repent of their sins, be converted to truth and sanctified by the Divine Spirit, *must* be *revolting* and *abhorrent* to you. Of course, you do not labor, do not pray for, do not desire any thing so perfectly monstrous as that. Your benevolence will not permit you. What if *God* 'will have all men to be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth'? what if *Christ* did 'come to seek and save the lost'? what if *angels* did announce his birth as 'good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people'? what if men like Gregory Nazianzen, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, in ancient times, and in modern days, such men as Tillotson—of whom possibly you may have heard—Burnet, Law, Drs. Samuel Clarke and Philip Doddridge, believed it? The Rev. Walter Ayrault, Rector of St. Peter's Church in Auburn, New York, declares that he regards it with the utmost abhorrence ! Well, my dear sir, '*De gustibus non est disputandum.*'

You further say, that you can 'never associate with me in any enterprise in which I appear as a teacher of Christianity in the community.' Now, sir, who has asked you to do so? Not I. I asked you to coöperate with me and others in some measures for the relief of the poor—not to say whether you thought me orthodox or heretic. Your *humility* and *charity* were quite needlessly alarmed. You know the old motto, 'Do not deny before you are asked.'

You tell me, also, that you 'shall always treat me in private life as a Christian and a gentleman should.' Now, if it were not impertinent—and how could I say aught that would savor of impertinence to the Rector of St. Peter's Church ?—I might ask you why you did not do so. But as it would be impolite, I do *not* ask any such question. Regarding my opinions as so abhorrent, I see not how you can entertain feelings of kindness for their propagation. 'You can associate with me as a man, but not as a minister.' You have heard the story of the Bishop and the clown. The former, who was also a prince, was marching his troops to battle, when the latter inquired how a soldier of the Prince of Peace could engage in carnal conflict. The Bishop replied, 'It is not in my character of Bishop, but in that of Prince, that I go to war.' 'Ah !' replied the clown, who was probably unskilled in casuistry, 'but when the devil gets the Prince, where will be the Bishop ?' I commend the anecdote to your consideration.

But really, sir, I trust you felt relieved after unburdening your magnanimous soul in that letter. If the next one I receive from you—should I be so fortunate (?) as to receive another—should furnish me as much amusement as this has done, I think I shall be under the necessity of making a public acknowledgment.

Hoping—and I can desire for you nothing better—that Infinite Wisdom may enlighten your benighted mind, teach you the commonest requirements of Christian courtesy, and enable you to look with at least a mitigated abhorrence on the idea of the ultimate repentance of all souls through Jesus Christ our Lord,

I am, very respectfully,

Yours, &c., W. R. G. MELLEN.

'A TOUR AMONG THE PLANTERS.'

Mr. Garrison :

Will you allow me a very little space in your columns to make a suggestion to your readers, and to Abolitionists generally? It is this: Let every one who has a dollar left, after paying for The Liberator, and who wishes to invest it in the best manner for his own improvement and for the promotion of the anti-slavery cause, send at once and purchase a copy of Dr. Parsons's book above indicated ; and after reading it through, (which no one can fail to do after commencing it,) lend it to his neighbors and acquaintances who think that, though slavery is rather to be deplored, it is not much worse than the system of free labor at the North.

The book is a very interesting and instructive one. In short, it is what it purports to be, 'An Inside View'—a panorama of slavery; and it presents some phases of the system and its workings which, I think, will be new to some, at least, even among Abolitionists. Having tried the plan here recommended, I can assure those who are disposed to adopt it, that *it will pay.*

Kingston, March 3. T. BICKNELL.

APPETITE FOR TOBACCO A GIANT.

I have known men, when out of tobacco, pick and chew the very threads of their pockets, once saturated with its power.

I have known a victim of the weed say, with tears in his eyes, he wished tobacco a thousand dollars a pound, so that the price would place it beyond his reach !

I have known men chew their quid over and over again some half a dozen times, when 'short on't,' as they say.

I have known men to dream, storm and rage about tobacco, as madmen, when deprived of it.

I have known men so enslaved, that use it they would in parlors, in churches, in temperance meetings, in cars, in stages, in defiance of all remonstrance, in defiance of all decency. And one lodge even of the Sons of Temperance, as I certainly know, passed a resolution, that they would not lay aside their tobacco, even during the hour they were convened for temperance purposes !

I saw a man who told me that tobacco was the dearest thing he had on earth—dearer than wife, child, Church or State ; and I thought, in his case, it seemed to be more than bread, the staff of life, for it seemed to be life itself to his clamorous appetite.

I know an excellent clergyman, who assures me he has sometimes wept like a child, when putting a quid to his mouth, under a sense of his degradation and bondage to this filthy poison.

I know a distinguished teacher in the State of Maine, who for some time debated the question, 'Shall I commit suicide by using tobacco, which I know is killing me, or shall I give it up and live?'

UNCLE TOBY.

GERRIT SMITH'S APPEAL TO A DEAR BOY ON TOBACCO.

My Dear George,—I could have wept, the other day, when I saw you smoking a cigar. Only fourteen years old, and already at work to poison your body and poison your soul with tobacco ! O, this is sad indeed ! My dear boy, you see not what is before you. If you did, you would be appalled ; and you would fall upon your knees, and entreat your heavenly Father to save you from the wasteful, filthy, wicked practice of using tobacco.

Do not excuse yourself by saying that some great and good men use tobacco. The great and good men who do so are in danger of sinking into very little and very wicked men, before they die.

Tobacco and Rum ! What terrible twin brothers ! What mighty agents of Satan ! What a large share of the American people they are destroying ! I love my children ; and because I love them, I had rather bury them, than see them defile themselves with rum or tobacco.

As Paul said to Timothy, so say I to you : 'Keep thyself pure.' Be clean in your person, and be clean in your heart. But, depend upon it, you can be neither, if you use tobacco.

Your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

UNCLE TOBY'S WAY OF RIDDING THE WORLD OF TOBACCO.

1st. Never use this narcotic yourself, and your example will be a standing protest against the nuisance and the sin.

2d. Banish it from your families, and forbid its polluting an inch of territory which you honestly call your own.

3d. Purify the Church. With fraternal love, with soft words, but hard arguments, show members who are steeped in this drug, that the habit is a sin, and if they renounce it, they will be happier and better men ; and drop it they must.

4th. Rebuke the manufacture and sale of it. Storekeepers have no more right to sell your children tobacco than alcohol, arsenic, or lightning—not an iota more ; and, after proper remonstrance, if they continue to poison inconsiderate youth, patronage should leave them 'alone in their glory.'

5th. Look after schools, and save the young. By a pleasing word, an anecdote or an attractive book, you may save many a dear boy, not only from this, but a whole fraternity of vices, and the time will come when they will speak your name in love, and pour blessings upon your memory.

6th. Sign and circulate the following pledge :

PLEDGE.

I hereby pledge myself to abstain from the use of tobacco, in all forms, totally and for ever, and use all suitable measures to induce others to do the same.

THE 'REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.'

East Bridgewater, March 2, 1856.

Friend Garrison :

I was not a little surprised to see an article in last week's Liberator, from our friend Everett, in favor of the abolition of the 'Refuge of Oppression' from the paper. I am apt to be surprised when people differ in opinion from me, especially when proof stronger than holy writ is on my side. I have been a reader of The Liberator about ten years, and never, in a single instance, have I had a thought that the 'Refuge' was detrimental to the usefulness of the paper. On the contrary, I have always urged upon people to subscribe for it, on the ground of its fairness in publishing both sides of the question. When men say they cannot take The Liberator on account of its one-sidedness, I tell them that is just the paper for them, for it publishes all sides of a question, if there be more than one side. I am indebted to that foul corner of the paper, more than to any thing else, for my utter detestation of the principle of slaveholding. Not that I admire reading such contemptible stuff, but I always want to see to what infernal schemes the slaveholders and their abettors will resort for fear of losing patronage. Now, the 'Refuge' is just the thing needed for the friends of freedom to look at, in order to see the contrast. Will our friend find fault with the temperance lecturer for showing up the horrors of drunkenness together with the beauties of temperance? Certainly not. How would our friend know of all the pro-slavery slime, the 'foul, pestilential miasma of the South,' as shown in 'the Boston *Post*, *Courier*, *Daily Advertiser*, *Journal*, *Chronicle*, *Olive Branch*, and *Puritan Recorder*,' without the aid of The Liberator? He would need a regiment of clerks to hunt up all the infernal spirits that inhabit the 'Refuge of Oppression' ; and not only that, he would have to pay for half the journals in the United States.

And again : how is the future historian to know of 'the worse than Papal bulls hurled at the Luther of the nineteenth century,' (and the still worse Protestant bulls,) without the aid of the 'Refuge'? I earnestly request our friend Everett to read (if he has not) the whole of the last 'Refuge,' especially the article from the pious *Traveller*.

But I am taking up too much of your space, and our friend may prefer to have this thrown into the corner where he 'seldom reads.' I hope you and our friend will excuse me for my plain, blunt remarks. I have not written to confute friend Everett's argument, but to gratify a feeling long entertained with regard to the usefulness of the 'Refuge of Oppression.' I expect it will be continued as long as 'the Luther of the nineteenth century' continues to wield the pen.

JACOB LEONARD.

REPORM IN THE DRESS OF WOMAN.

Glen Haven, March 1st, 1856.

Dear Garrison :

Doubtless many of your readers will be interested to know some particulars of a Convention, having for its object the advancement of reform of woman's dress, that met at Glen Haven Water Cure, on the 21st and 22d ult.

This Convention numbered more than one hundred persons, and among its members were gentlemen of acknowledged talent, and ladies deeply interested in various reforms.

Dr. J. C. Jackson presided at the informal meeting, and Mrs. C. A. Joy over the organized Convention.

A very well written address was read by Dr. Harriet N. Austin, which will be printed in tract form.

Resolutions of thanks to Hon. Gerrit Smith, for the able and fearless expression of his views on Dress Reform, and other Resolutions, embodying many of the strong points in his letter on that subject, were adopted with great unanimity.

Other Resolutions were adopted, but I will only copy one, lest I make this article too long for insertion in your columns :—

Resolved, That in advocating Reform in Dress for Woman, our object is not to advocate for her positions of singularity, eccentricity, immodesty, or to get her out of her 'appropriate sphere,' but to enable her to act with that freedom needful to find out what her 'appropriate sphere' is.

Speeches were made by gentlemen and ladies present, evincing a degree of energy, devotion and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain even this radical reform.

A 'National Dress Reform Association' was formed, whose members comprise residents of ten different States.

The objects of the Association, as declared in the Constitution, are, to 'induce a reform in woman's dress, especially in regard to long skirts, tight waists, and all styles and modes which are incompatible with good health, refined taste, simplicity, economy and beauty.'

One hundred and seventy dollars were raised by the Association as a basis of present operations.

Dr. H. N. Austin, Glen Haven, Cayuga Co., N. Y., is chief Corresponding Secretary of the Association. It has been decided to hold a National Dress Reform Convention on the third Wednesday in June,—probably in Homer, N. Y.

This reform is not exciting so much interest in New England as in this State and further West, but there are, all over New England, earnest women, living out the principles of this Association ; and every where among the sensible and thinking portion of society, is there an increasing dissatisfaction with the present style of dress worn by women. Many see a clear connection between her dress and her condition ; and such will gladly welcome an organized effort to 'translate her from the kingdom of fancy and fashion and foolery, to the kingdom of reason and righteousness.'

Yours truly, J.

From the New York Independent.

THE OBSERVER AND LIBERATOR.

When the Boston *Liberator* and the New York *Anti-Slavery Standard* blame us for advocating force in the defence of Kansas, we cannot but accept it with respect, though we do not concede the doctrine of *non-resistance* upon which they stand.

There have been two parties among Christians, from the beginning, in respect to the true intent of Christ's teaching in the matter of physical force in self-defence. One party, (and it has been numerically the minority, but has ranked very able writers in its service,) hold that it is wrong to use force for self-defence, for the protection of societies, or for defensive national wars ; that men are to repel wrong only by moral means, and when these fail, that then they are to suffer patiently and heroically. The other party, and they are an immense majority, of ethical writers, and of commentators, believe, that no man may retaliate a wrong, or avenge himself for the sake of gratifying his temper. They regard the directions of Christ as applying to the case of the daily intercourse of men with men, and not as touching the extreme cases when a man's life and family are in jeopardy, or where the state is threatened in its very existence. They hold that self-defence is allowable, and that defensive wars are justifiable.

Mr. Garrison is a thorough *non-resistant*. I am not. He accepts the views of the first part, I accept the views of the second part. I thoroughly believe in the right of self-defence, and in the right of defensive war, both of which were appointed by God under the Old Testament dispensation, and continually inspired and used ; nor does the New Testament abrogate the right or permission ; but, correcting and restraining the revengeful tendencies of men's temper, it leaves their rights, in extreme cases, of self-defence, just as they were.

It is not our purpose to set forth the grounds of our belief ; to cite and examine the passages of the New Testament, or to argue the claims put forth on the other side. But only to say, that having examined both sides of the question, we have deliberately and fully taken the ground that man has the natural right of self-defence by force against extreme violence ; that the Old Testament confirms this right ; that the New Testament does not abrogate it, nor advance principles which are inconsistent with it ; and that, since the world began, man has had, and now has the right to repel destructive violence by physical force ; and that such a use of physical force is no more at variance with the law of love than is a parent's chastising a child with a rod, or a magistrate's condemning a culprit to life-imprisonment for his crimes.

Now it is perfectly right and fair for the *Standard* and the *Liberator* to dissent, to regret, to deprecate, etc. The real point of attack upon us should not be a reproach for a bold utterance, in a time of public need, of what we are persuaded is God's truth ; but the ground-work on which we stand should have been questioned and examined, and the principles shown to be unsound.

The New Testament declares that malignity, revenge, hatred, are not to be felt toward an enemy. We do not think it touches at all the question *what kind of* instruments man may employ. It simply teaches what is *the state of mind* which is to direct either kind of instrument—moral or physical. If we reason and argue, love and not malignity is to animate us. If we are in extremities, and defend our lives with weapons, it is not to be in bitter hatred, but calmly, deliberately, and with Christian firmness. We know that there are those who will scoff at the idea of holding a sword or a rifle, in a Christian state of mind. I think it is just as easy as to hold an *argument* in a Christian state of mind. When Mr. Garrison is called to write a review of Dr. Adams's South Side View of Slavery, or to expose the time-serving spirit of lower-law clergymen, we think that it is far more difficult to maintain the peace-principles inculcated by Christ, than it would be for Robinson and Pomeroy to do it while defending the city of Lawrence with arms.

The right to use physical force we regard as a very important one. They who deny it, in the case of personal self-defence and of defensive war, cannot consistently stop there. They must deny it to the police force in our cities ; to the civil force under our government. They must refuse all sanctions to law, all penalties, all coercions, and leave conduct to be limited or restrained only by moral considerations. The thief comes to steal ; if reasoning will not change his purpose, you must not put him out of the house ; you must not hold his hand ; you must not even run away with your treasure, for that is meeting him not by moral restraint, but by physical defeat.

There are those who hold a half-way ground, who believe that physical force may be used, but deny that it can ever be rightfully carried so far as to take away human life. But we think that they are men who stand on half a principle and half an expedient. They go with a principle till it comes to a practical difficulty, and then they abandon it for a merely empirical judgment. Either we may or may not employ force in self-defence. If we may employ it at all, then we may employ it in degree and in continuance, up to the point of efficiency.

We do not see how it may be right to use a little, but wrong to use a great deal of force, where self-defence is the end, and where the feelings are not malignant, but simply a calm, conscientious standing for right.

In the present condition of the world, we should regard the spread of peace principles, *in that sense* in which they deny the right of self-defence, as a premium bid upon rascality and tyranny. It is the devil's doctrine, and it would inure to the benefit of Satan and of his minions throughout the world.

We say again, that we are not attempting to give the grounds and reasons of our views, but simply to state what they are, and to assert the consistency of our exhortations in past articles with our own principles, and with the principles of the vast majority of Christian ethical writers. The mere fact that those hold these views of the right of self-defence, adds nothing to the authority or argument ; but it does take away from the strangeness of a clergyman's advocating a brave resistance of armed tyranny. It is not an inconsistent nor unusual thing. It is in accordance with the teachings of the best men in Christendom, and not inconsistent with the spirit of the New Testament.

It is a little remarkable that the *Observer* and the *Liberator* should stand side by side in attacking my speech. Misery makes strange bed-fellows. Did not Mr. Garrison reflect upon these facts? Is it *probable* that he could be right when agreeing with the *Observer*? He has not been wont to live in such company, and should look well to his steps. The *Observer* is not a safe guide. But the case is more favorable to the *Liberator* than to the *Observer*. The *Liberator* does not believe in fighting, (except in a moral way.) The *Observer* does. The *Liberator* does not believe in physical self-defence. The *Observer* does. The *Liberator* blames us in perfect consistency with all its doctrines and beliefs. The *Observer* has to go right across its own doctrines and beliefs in order to make an attack upon us. The *Liberator* admits that, if ever a case existed that would justify the use of arms, Kansas is that case. The *Observer* has seen armed invasion, a systematic and widespread conspiracy to beat out every vestige of liberty by the most outrageous fraud and violence, without one word of disapprobation. But when a freeman exhorts free men to defend their rights and their lives, *then* the *Observer* is filled with horror, and calls the public to be shocked at me ! Let it be understood that the *Observer* believes just as I do in the right of self-defence, but only refuses that right to the free settlers of Kansas when attacked by the hordes of slave-breeders.

We have acted consistently with our settled belief. We have nothing to retract. That which we have said, we affirm with renewed emphasis. The times require plain speaking. It is time for straight-forward thinking, for frank speaking, for honest hearts and brave hands.

From the Augusta, (Me.) 'Gospel Banner.'

A BAD BOOK.

Punch has printed a very expressive picture of Napoleon Bonaparte. He is dressed in sacerdotal vestments, and has assumed an attitude of devotion, and seems altogether a very saintly being. A hypocritical leer is spread over the face of the figure, however, and under the whole we read—'*Abbott's* Napoleon.' Such a picture cannot represent the French Napoleon, the Napoleon of history, but it does represent *Abbott's* Napoleon ; a book which, we solemnly believe, when the position of the author as a Christian minister, and a citizen of New England—and of the subject—the heartless, soulless incarnation of selfishness and sin—are considered, has no parallel in the annals of literature. No language is too florid and fulsome for the author to apply to his hero, in the book which pretends to be a faithful narrative of that wicked man. Though a republican, he exalts him who perverted his country from a republic to a cruel despotism. Though a follower of the Prince of Peace, he praises to the skies one who was content only when the civilized world was wading through blood. Though an American husband, he excuses the tyrant who deserted one of the noblest women who ever saw the light, and though an advocate of purity, he finds no condemnation for one whose life was open adultery. Though a Christian minister, he veneers the vices and crimes of the great foe of Christianity with his rhetoric and morality, (!) until, but for well-remembered names of persons and places, it were nearly impossible to know who was the hero of the story.

A man of blood, and sin, and crime—a man who cursed the world while he dwelt in it—the assassin of the Duke d'Enghein, the slaughterer of thousands, and one whose path was traced by the light of burning towns and the smoke of consuming villages—this is the Napoleon of history. But *Abbott's* Napoleon is a meek creature of destiny, who only committed murder and adultery, who only cursed the world, because he could not help it! And the book which professes to represent the man has gone out to the world, disguising his faults, veneering his vices, and so misrepresenting him, as to be one of the most dangerous and noxious educational influences that the press has produced for the space of a generation. Those who seek the welfare of youth—who desire the good of the next generation—who would aid in the work of human progress and development—ought to see to it that an influence so baneful is properly labelled, before it is placed in the hands of the young. If it were in all respects false as to dates, it would be comparatively harmless. But, by bearing a false mask, it becomes the most dangerous of deceivers. In our judgment, so far as its moral character and influence are concerned, it is a stupendous lie, and ought to be so entitled, in order that every young man and woman, by being properly forewarned, would be well forearmed against it.

Our attention has at this time been called to the book through a letter which Mr. Abbott has written to Napoleon the Little, on presenting a life of Napoleon the Great. Its spirit is so menial, so base, and so false, that we are ashamed as we observe that it was written in Maine, and at the beautiful university town of Brunswick. To address the miserable miscreant Napoleon the *Last*—let us hope—as *Sire*—to say that such stuff was written 'under a deep sense of responsibility to God'—and to pass by such men as Lafayette and Lamartine, and call Napoleon the '*Washington of France*,' when there was absolutely nothing which the tyrant held in common with the *pater patriæ*—to declare that if the book shall dispel 'any portion of that calumny with which political hostility has surrounded the noble name of Napoleon, the reflection will cheer the writer even in a dying hour,'—such language *from* such a man, *about* such a man, *to* such a man, is in the last degree shameful. We have read nothing for many a day at which our cheek has so tingled and burned with the flush of mortification.

Brunswick, Me., Aug. 28, 1855.

To the Emperor Napoleon III. :

Sire,—Three years ago, your Majesty honored me with an *audience particulier*, and kindly consented to accept a copy of the History of Napoleon I. which I was then writing. The work, issued at first in the pages of Harper's Magazine, attained a monthly circulation of one hundred and thirty thousand. When published in volumes, seven thousand copies were sold in ten days. It is estimated that it has been read by more than a million inhabitants of the United States.

Every page of these volumes has been written under a deep sense of responsibility to God.—Though the work has been assailed by a portion of the American press with the utmost virulence, it is accepted by the great mass of the people with applause. It can no longer be doubted that the increasing millions of the United States will love to do justice to the memory of the great Emperor —*the Washington of France.*

Should this work aid, in Europe, in dispelling any portion of that calumny with which political hostility has surrounded the noble name of Napoleon, the reflection will cheer the writer even in a dying hour. The Emperor breathed his last under the firm conviction that posterity would do justice to his memory. His dying aspirations will not be disappointed.

I have now in press another volume, corresponding in size and type with the History, entitled, 'Napoleon at St. Helena, or Interesting Anecdotes and Remarkable Conversations of the Emperor during the five and a half years of his imprisonment, chronologically arranged from the Memorials of Las Casas, O'Meara, Montholon, Antommarchi, and others.' These conversations constitute a magnificent monument to the genius and the heart of this great man.

In accepting these volumes, your Majesty will confer upon the writer an honor which he will appreciate.

I am, Sire, with the highest consideration,
Your obedient servant,
JOHN S. C. ABBOTT.

☞ A gentleman from Lexington told us yesterday, that there was some talk of starting an anti-slavery paper there, on account of the Brady outrage.—*Newport News.*

Those who commence the paper had better get all the hair taken off their heads, so the Lexington people will only have the trouble of taking off their skin.—*Louisville Times.*

☞ This is the constitutional 'liberty of the press' which is tolerated in the murderous South !

☞ Here is a morsel that is richly Longfellowish, being a delicious caricature of that poet's style of inculcating lessons of wisdom, which is one of his Bostonian characteristics :—

Never jumps a sheep that's frightened
Over any fence whatever,
Over wall, or fence, or timber,
But a second follows after,
And a third upon the second,
And a fourth, and fifth, and so on.
First a sheep, and then a dozen,
Till they all, in quick succession,
One by one have got clear over.
So misfortunes, almost always,
Follow after one another,
Seem to watch each other, always,
When they see the tail uplifted,
In the air the tail uplifted,
As the sorrow leapeth over ;
So they follow, thicker, faster,
Till the air of earth seems darkened
With the tails of sad misfortunes.

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N. B. All kinds of Hair Work made to order.

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February 15.

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